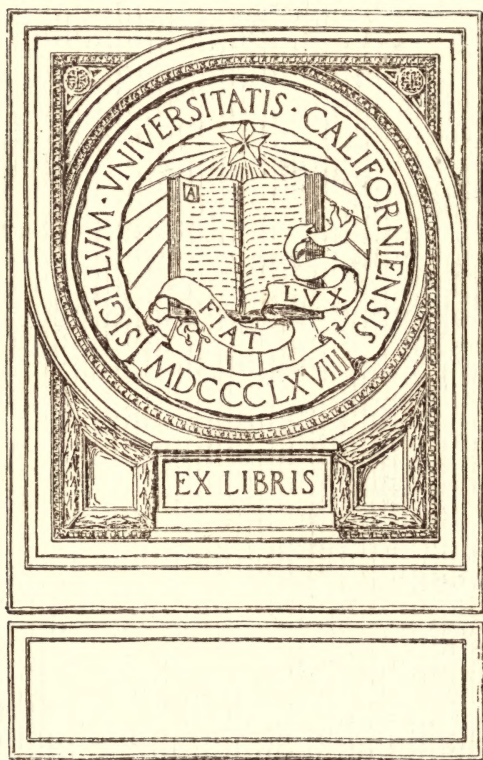


GEORGE_{VON} LENGERKE MEYER
HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE





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George v. L. Meyer

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HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

BY

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE

AUTHOR OF "LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE BANCROFT," "LIFE AND
LABORS OF BISHOP HARE," ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFATORY

This book, prepared at the request of Mrs. Meyer, is based chiefly upon a large collection of papers, in manuscript and in print, placed by her at my disposal. To her help at all points of the undertaking I am much indebted. I would gratefully acknowledge also the assistance received from many friends of Mr. Meyer in public and private life, through spoken and written words about him; from my secretary, Miss Helen M. Boyer, and from Mr. George B. Ives, who has made the Index.

M. A. DEW. H.

Boston, October, 1919.

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GEORGE VON LENGERKE MEYER
HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

GEORGE VON LENGERKE MEYER: HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

I

BEGINNINGS

(1858-1877)

THE biography of an American in public life is frequently the story of one whose boyhood and younger manhood have been engrossed with the surmounting of handicaps. This American has often been born poor, with narrowly limited opportunities for education and that favourable start in life which may count for much in the opening years of a man's career. His conquest of these difficulties has served only to strengthen his fibre for the important work awaiting him.

The life of the public servant whose career is to be recorded in these pages did not begin in this traditional fashion. But there are other handicaps to be overcome than those of poverty and obscurity. There is a positive handicap of good fortune. It is fatally easy for the young American in comfortable circumstances, having passed through school and college on terms involving a minimum of struggle, to drift into the easy-going ways of a foreordained business or profession, to feel that he is fulfilling his destiny if he

contents himself with the mere increase of his family resources, and adorns the society into which he was born by membership in the best clubs of city and country, by playing the pleasant game of life indoors and out, as a gentleman should — and letting it go at that. It is the rare American who does these things without leaving the others undone. Those other things, when they have to do with the useful occupancy of public office, call for character, purpose, and unwearying effort. Indeed, they are obtained only through the constant exercise of these qualities. The story of such a life therefore becomes typical of American biography in general, not through the precise nature of the struggle to be encountered, but through the fact that there must be singleness of aim, self-denying endeavour, unremitting and unsparing, from the beginning to the end.

The career of George Meyer, in the government of Boston and Massachusetts, in his ambassadorships to Italy and Russia, in the cabinets of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, respectively, as Postmaster General and Secretary of the Navy, reveals this type of American life with uncommon clearness. He entered politics and proceeded in his fruitful participation in public life, not in the spirit of the born reformer, but rather in that of the astute and effective man of affairs who wanted to make himself useful to his community and his generation, and took a genuine satisfaction in the carrying out of this purpose. Like other men of essentially simple and normal natures, he made note from time to time of phrases and mottoes which

appeared to sum up his philosophy of life. "The star of each man's destiny is in his heart," was one of these watchwords, suggesting a clearly defined and guiding purpose of his own making. Another phrase, quoted in his diary during his ambassadorship in Italy, and pencil-marked for emphasis in the margin, is still more significant: "The soul's joy lies in the doing." This, indeed, sounds the keynote of George Meyer's career, and seems to reveal the impulse that actuated him throughout life—to do things, and to do them well; for so he did them, and, with every occasion of increasing responsibility and opportunity, did them better than any, excepting the very few who knew him best, believed that he could do them. In the eyes of many his career thus became a series of surprises. In reality, it was the direct result of obvious causes, the chief of which was his own employment, to the top of his bent, of native gifts assiduously cultivated. These gifts disclosing themselves more and more clearly as the years went on, and left in this place for the detailed disclosure which the following narrative will make of them, carried him far. The record of his life becomes, therefore, both typical and suggestive.

George von Lengerke Meyer was born in Boston, Massachusetts, June 24, 1858. He was the eldest of his parents' three children, and the only son. His father, George Augustus Meyer, was a Boston East India merchant (born in New York in 1824; died in Boston, 1899), the son of a New York merchant of

the same name. Both this grandfather and his wife, Johanna Catharina von Lengerke, were natives of Germany. The father of the elder George Augustus, Heinrich Ernst Ludwig Meyer, was *Oberamtmann*, or chief magistrate, of Westen in Hanover. He was the father of fifteen children, and is reported in family tradition to have been so stout that a large section of his dining-table had to be cut away, so that he could take his food in comfort. One son of this vigorous parent, a great-uncle of the subject of these pages, was Lieutenant Colonel F. L. Meyer, of the Third Hussars, King's German Legion, who fought, and was killed, under Blücher at Waterloo.

This strong German stock, traced by genealogists far beyond the eighteenth-century great-grandfather, had its counterpart in the pure New England and English descent of George Meyer's mother, Grace Helen Parker. Her father, William Parker, was a Boston lawyer, president of the Boylston Bank, and a director of the Boston and Worcester Railroad. He was at various times a member of the Boston City Government, both in the Common Council and in the Board of Aldermen. He was a member of that Board when President Polk visited Boston in 1847, and took a prominent part in the ceremony of his reception by the city. At another time, when he was visiting England, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, made him the official bearer of dispatches to the British Government. His father, Samuel Parker, born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1744, of a family established there since the previous century, embodied



GEORGE AUGUSTUS AND GRACE HELEN (PARKER) MEYER; PARENTS OF
GEORGE VON LENGINEKE MEYER



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notably the close relations between New and Old England. Graduated from Harvard College in 1763, he was ordained a priest of the Anglican Church, in London, eleven years later, and served as rector of Trinity Church, Boston, for more than thirty years. At the time of the Revolution he was a Royalist, and offered to resign his parish when the other Royalists left it. His people wished him to remain, on the condition of omitting the prayer for the King from his reading of the service — which he did, holding his post as the only Church of England clergyman in Massachusetts throughout the Revolution. In 1804 he was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts, but died before the end of the year, less than three months after entering the episcopate. Through the forbears and descendants of Bishop Parker, the New England family relationships of George Meyer were extensive and representative.

The home of his family in Boston was at No. 194, Beacon Street. Like many youths of his time and place, he was prepared at the local private school of Mr. G. W. C. Noble for Harvard College, which he entered, in 1875, with the Class of 1879. The first decade of President Eliot's long administration of the College ended with the graduation of Meyer's class, which was among the earliest to profit by that extension of the "elective system" in which Harvard, under its young President, had become the pioneer. It must be said frankly that the electives Meyer chose bore no special relation to his later interests, and that his record in scholarship was not one concerning

which a biographer can play the moralist and say that it clearly foreshadowed his maturer powers of application and acquisition; for it did not. If any inferences are to be drawn, they must be such as go to strengthen the belief that college standing is after all a fallible index of later success in affairs.

The College, however, afforded him a medium for the lifelong expression of a loyalty that was characteristic of him in a variety of relations. His class and his college club, the A.D., of which he became Graduate President, held his devotion always. To the University itself, he was the donor, only twelve years after graduation, of the Meyer Gate, erected, in 1891, one year after the first of the beautiful entrances to the College Yard, the Johnston Gate, was built. While Ambassador to Italy and to Russia, in later years, he enriched the College Library with books purchased in those countries. In 1911 the University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him. In the same year the Alumni elected him to the Board of Overseers, of which his fellow-members chose him, in 1914, to be President. He was thus of that company of "Harvard men" who are so defined because they have not let the University do more for them than they have done for it.

In the summer of 1878, between his junior and senior years in college, George Meyer had his first experience of Europe, accompanying his father to Carlsbad, seeing something of the Rhine, London, and Paris, and establishing the basis of that knowledge

of foreign lands and peoples which played so important a part in his completed education.

An illuminating bit of reminiscence of his college life is preserved in a letter written by another Harvard man, of a slightly earlier class:¹ "The late George Meyer's record of successful achievement . . . was no matter of chance success or favouritism, but one illustrating in marked degree the words of Disraeli, 'The secret of success is constancy to purpose.' This is well exemplified by an interesting incident during his college days, well remembered by a near contemporary at Harvard. In the days when house crews were in vogue on the Charles, being a dweller in Matthews, young Meyer felt a desire to row, and so, with an innate will to accomplish his purpose, he presented himself at the boathouse as a candidate for the Matthews dormitory crew, and, although a light man comparatively, won a seat in the boat, was tried at stroke, a position in which he made good, was elected captain, and won his race!

"This trait was later dominant throughout his political and diplomatic career: 'making good' in whatever he set out to accomplish."

The mere fact recorded here is doubly significant. It illustrated Meyer's early addiction to what has been well called "the habit of victory"; and it speaks for a devotion to sports and games of many kinds in which he maintained the interest, and the skill, of a young

¹ F. S. Sturgis, in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, March 28, 1918. The letter does not refer to the fact that Meyer rowed also Number 2 in the winning senior Class Crew of 1879.

man to the end of his busy life. He succeeded as an oarsman in college just as in later years he established and held his superiority in the other outdoor pursuits in which he afterwards engaged: horsemanship, — driving, polo, and hunting, — tennis, golf, fishing, skating, motoring. When he entered upon a sport, he took it seriously enough to make himself a master of it. The same may be said of his dealings with the pleasures of society, in all their most agreeable forms. The long-surviving boy in him — the spirit of the college senior and the young man of the world — gave him a zest in their enjoyment which men who lose it earlier could not always understand.

If he took these things seriously, however, his clear, cool head never failed him in keeping them in their true relation to the other and more serious interests of his life. When he played, he played hard; when he worked, he worked hard. Those who observed him in one of these pursuits sometimes found it difficult to believe that he could be so effective as he was in the other. The fact is that he possessed a native and trained capacity for keeping things where they belonged, and turning each separate concern of his life to the best possible account. It was not entirely within the comprehension of his native Boston that the man of society acquires a training in tact, *savoir faire*, and other valuable qualities of immense usefulness in public and political life. The trouble is that this really valuable technique of human intercourse is too often expended chiefly upon trivialities. In devoting it both to society and to important affairs,

George Meyer illustrated admirably its larger possibilities.

Under the head of "Beginnings" these observations may seem premature. They are given in this place, however, for the very reason that Meyer's boyhood and younger manhood did not obviously foreshadow his later development. As a matter of fact, the seeds of it were planted in his inheritances and his earlier years. The years of conspicuous achievement may unfold themselves the more intelligibly for this attempt to relate them to their origin.

II

AFFAIRS AND POLITICS IN BOSTON AND MASSACHUSETTS

(1879-1900)

WHEN George Meyer graduated from Harvard in 1879, twenty-one years old, the Boston of which he became a citizen still retained many of the characteristics, social, intellectual, and commercial, of the distinctive place it had been through the middle years of the nineteenth century. The word "metropolitan," as applied to its activities of many kinds, had not yet taken the place it was to hold even before the present day. A vigorous growth in civic and industrial opportunity, rendered possible, in large measure, by the astonishing development of electric transportation which had come into full swing by the nineties, was at hand. It was a fortunate time for a young man of energy and ambition to enter upon a career of commerce and politics. The tradition of the older training which had given the Boston merchants of the clipper-ship days their supremacy in commerce was still potent. It was the best of training for the constructive work soon to be done in the establishment of what is known as modern business. After the day's work the young man of gregarious instincts, if fortunately placed in the community, could take recourse to the pleasures of a comparatively small and homo-

geneous society — limited, if you will, in the scope and pace of its enjoyments, when measured by the standards of a later day, yet sound in its own standards of essential good-breeding. In a word, the place afforded an admirable training-ground, both for affairs and for human intercourse.

On quitting college George Meyer entered the shipping office of Alpheus H. Hardy & Co., a Boston firm engaged chiefly in Mediterranean commerce. It was still a time when young men entered such houses, on nominal salaries of \$100 or \$200 a year, simply to acquire a training in business habits and methods. This training, one would suppose, might naturally have been sought in the shipping office of Linder & Meyer, in which his father was established — with East Indian and Russian trade — on India Wharf from 1848 to 1878, and afterwards at 89 State Street, where the business of the firm is still conducted. But the young man's course in submitting to a control other than parental was wise. When he was Secretary of the Navy, an interviewer asked him why he "hired out" to a stranger instead of his father, and received the answer, "Because I feared I might treat my father as a relative and not as an employer." His actual employer, Mr. Hardy, found in him business qualities which gave assurance of success. A fellow employee bears witness to his willingness to undertake any task committed to him, and, without a suggestion of shirking disagreeable details, to do the thing well. If his young associates did not foresee how far his capacities of balance, integrity,

good manners, and shrewd common sense would bear him, it was because they did not fully realize what these qualities can do for their possessor.

After two years of this apprenticeship to the work of a merchant, he was admitted, in 1881, to partnership in the firm of Linder & Meyer, of which he remained a member for the rest of his life. For a few years business was his chief concern, and he applied himself to its interests with a thoroughness which enabled him, after entering politics, to dispatch it quickly and accurately, and thus to command the time he required for other pursuits. In these early years, moreover, he laid the foundations of a well-deserved reputation for sagacity and acumen in business matters, causing his counsel to be sought and valued in enterprises of importance outside the affairs of his own firm. While still a young man, he found himself associated with many of his elders in the business world in the directorship of large corporations. As early as 1890 he became a director of the Old Colony Trust Company, at its charter meeting, and in 1894 was elected a director of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company. Many other directorships followed in due course—in the Ames Plow Company, of which he was president, the Puget Sound Traction, Light and Power Company, the Fort Hill Chemical Company, the Tampa Electric Company, the Walter Baker Company, the Provident Institution for Savings, the Merchants National Bank.

On the day following his twenty-seventh birthday, June 25, 1885, George Meyer was married at Lenox,

Massachusetts, to Marian Alice Appleton, a daughter of Charles Hook and Isabella (Mason) Appleton, of Boston. Through a Cutler ancestor both of the Appletons and of Meyer's mother, his wife and he were third cousins. The Bostonian with only one Boston parent, however, finds his New England relationships widely extended when his wife is of Boston through both lines of descent. So it was with George Meyer. The happy outward conditions of his marriage through all its years stood clear before the world. An open book is not the place to say more than that the outward and inward were in singular harmony; yet Meyer's truly fortunate domestic life, his constant, affectionate concern for his wife and children, and everything that affected their welfare, must not pass unmentioned in any comprehensive account of him. His daughters Julia and Alice, now married, respectively, to Signor Giuseppe Brambilla, of Rome, now counsellor of the Italian Embassy in London, and Commander Christopher Raymond Perry Rodgers, U.S.N., and his third child, the son who bears his name, had always in their father the truest friend, counsellor, and comrade.

A friend of George Meyer's has said that he first came into prominence on horseback. Without attempting to establish points of precise order in time, it may indeed be said that his early association with the Myopia Hunt Club, permanently established at Hamilton in Essex County in 1891, ten years after its origin at Winchester, near Boston, served to bring his excellent horsemanship to the notice of that con-

siderable portion of the public which is interested in manly sports. What the Meadowbrook Club was to New York in the early days of hunting and polo, the Myopia was to Boston; and Meyer's prowess as a polo-player before the game had established itself more generally afforded one of the instances, to be found in the eighties and nineties, of young men displaying on a field of sport the qualities which made good cavalry officers in the Civil War out of men in the next older generation, and good aviators or artillerymen, let us say, of the "officer material" in the war of our own day. Spirited young men of every generation have a way of proving themselves — often to the surprise of their elders — capable of a dash and daring to which the life of a city gives no natural expression. George Meyer belonged to this class.

The Myopia Hunt Club, once settled at Hamilton, played an important part in making its neighbourhood in Essex County a centre of agreeable country life of a type then little known in America. Boston families, especially of the younger generation, were beginning to take up farms in the vicinity, and to live on them for the greater part of the year. Hunting, riding, and other sports occupied much of their time. Altogether the life bore a closer resemblance to that of the county families of England than to the cold and scrambling existence which the early settlers of Essex County, including in more than one instance the progenitors of the modern Hamiltonians, led on the same rolling farm-lands. But the new settlers were also pioneers in their way — with many advantages of

circumstance in their favour; and it needed a certain vigour and hardihood of nature, perhaps of Puritan derivation, to meet the new conditions, without succumbing to them and permitting the enjoyment of life to defeat its own ends through becoming the primary instead of the secondary thing.

George Meyer and his family became a part, a vital part, of all this pleasant life. As early as 1890 he acquired "Rock Maple Farm" at Hamilton, which later became his legal residence. His interest in this country place, the improvement of its grounds and buildings, including, near the end of his life, even the removal of the enlarged house upon it from the bottom to the top of a hill, was an interest that never failed, whether he was at home, abroad, or in Washington. Its concerns were constantly cropping out in his correspondence. His identification with the life of the region was typified by his presidency of the Myopia Hunt Club for a number of years, beginning with 1893, the first year in which a president was elected. Before 1893 he had served as treasurer and one of the stewards of the club. A member of it, by the way, has said that, when Meyer became its president and proposed to do various things for its betterment, nobody thought he could bring them to pass; but he did. Wise rules of membership were adopted; golf was introduced in 1894; and the peace was kept amongst intensely interested Myopians of divergent views on matters of club policy. All this was related to Meyer's principle of the "joy in the doing," and his capacity to keep things in their true places. The country gentleman riding to the hounds,

— with much success and the usual mishaps, — playing polo, and amusing himself in many other ways, cultivating flowers, acquiring tapestries and rare china, kept a perfectly clear distinction in his own mind between the pursuits of vocation and avocation which, in many persons situated as he was, get themselves confused. If he had not, as a sportsman and a lover of the beauties and amenities of life, so thoroughly enjoyed his avocations, they might almost have been regarded as deliberate means to an end, for they did serve a constant, valuable purpose of health and refreshment. In reality, they merely embodied his conception of one portion of a well-rounded existence, and thus acquired a dignity of their own in his scheme of life.

There has been no attempt in the preceding pages to observe a strict chronological sequence in the affairs of Meyer's life. The aim has been rather to establish the background against which the public services with which most of this book must deal are to be followed. His place as a member of the community to which he belonged has been set forth in some detail. The position which he rapidly made for himself in the conduct of large business affairs has been indicated. At the end of about the first decade of his business life, however, he began to add to its interests those of local politics, beginning on the lowest rungs of the ladder, and mounting steadily. Nearly an even quarter-century passed between his becoming a member of a Republican ward committee in the City of Boston and his retirement, in 1913, from the post of Secretary of the Navy. It was a political career in which advance-



THE HOUSE AT ROCK MAPLE FARM, HAMILTON

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ment came — as it must if it is to be justified — through hard work, joined with the double ability to recognize an opportunity when it arose, and then to make effective use of it. When the results of such a course bear the outward appearance of good fortune, it is well to remember that this fortune is generally among the inward gifts of the man who profits by it.

Two statements by George Meyer himself with regard to the obligations and opportunities in politics for the educated and fortunately placed young man may appropriately be given at this point. The first of them is found in a letter, written April 12, 1890, to the Secretary of the Harvard Class of 1879, printed in the Class Report of 1890, and reading as follows: —

A year ago last fall I was elected a member of the Common Council of the City of Boston on the Republican ticket. This last fall received a reelection as a member of the city government, and am now serving my second year in the Council. Last year the body was Democratic by a small majority, while this year it is Republican by a good working majority. The matter of municipal government should receive special attention from Harvard graduates and every citizen living in the large cities. The administrations of many of our large cities have acquired an unenviable reputation in this country and abroad. This can only be remedied by the better class of citizens generally taking an active part in their city politics, not only by voting on election day, but by attending regularly the primaries and caucuses and insisting on the proper candidate being nominated. Without attention to these matters, "Things alter for the worse spontaneously unless altered for the better designedly."

The second statement appears in an interview with a representative of the Boston *Herald* while Meyer was a member of President Taft's Cabinet. When asked his opinion of the political chances for the well-to-do, educated young American, he replied: —

Most assuredly such young men should take part in politics. Those youths who are not dependent upon their own efforts for their daily bread, and who have had the advantages of a good education, are under special obligation to the public. It is doubly incumbent upon them to give the best that is in them toward the study and solution of civic problems, which in every generation and in every twelfth month come to the fore.

Once they demonstrate an absolutely disinterested motive, learn to say "no" to the importunities of influential friends, and prove their willingness to serve the people, the doors of political opportunity are wide open for them.

It is well that this is so in our country. I saw it forcefully illustrated in Italy. Influential young men were a great power in bringing about the union of Italy. But the Constitution of 1848 prescribed thirty-five years as the minimum age at which one could become a member of Parliament. The Italian "patriots" were young men. With this restriction of parliamentary service, the young men, who ought to have continued in active service, began to fall out.

Cut off the opportunity for wealthy and educated young men to get into politics and they spend their time at the clubs. They acquire habits of ease, after which there is less and less inclination, as the years go by, to assume public duties.

George Meyer was fortunately "caught young" in politics. He began and continued to the end, a "regu-

lar " Republican. The strong " Mugwump " sentiment in Boston attending and following the first election of President Cleveland — strongest in the very portion of the community to which Meyer belonged — did not concern itself so much with local as with national politics, and Republican candidates for office in naturally Republican wards and districts encountered little serious opposition. From the time of his marriage, Meyer's place of residence in Boston was at 54, Beacon Street, the home of his wife's father and grandfather, one of the beautiful pair of twin houses of which the historian Prescott had occupied the other. It lay in what was the Ninth Ward through the period of Meyer's active participation in local politics. This was sometimes called the " pepper-and-salt ward," by reason of its admixture of white and coloured voters, the first living on Beacon Street and the nearer parallel streets of Beacon Hill, the second then settled in large numbers on the northerly slopes of that eminence.

So diverse a constituency called for tactful representation. " Kid-gloved " and " silk-stockinged " aspirants for election could not expect to prevail without persuading the voters that they possessed other qualifications for office than a mere desire for it, on whatever grounds. In caucuses, and especially in the service of the ward committee, they were obliged to prove themselves. It was necessary to demonstrate, not only your willingness to work as a member of the party organization, but also your standing, on elemental human terms, as a " good fellow." The

spurious in these regards could not long pass current. Meyer became a member of the Ninth Ward Republican Committee, won his nomination in the autumn of 1888 for the Common Council of the City Government, as then constituted, and was duly elected.

During his connection with the Boston City Council he served on its Finance Committee, and the Committees on Water, on Laying Out and Widening Streets, on the Charles River Bridges. His third election, in the autumn of 1890, was to the upper chamber of the City Government, the Board of Aldermen, on which, for the following year, he represented the Fourth of the ten aldermanic districts into which Boston was then divided. Apart from his other service on this Board, he was a member of its important Finance Committee, which was entrusted with making virtually all appropriations for city expenditures. To all this work at City Hall he brought the sound business training which he had been rapidly acquiring in State Street; and from it he carried away an experience in parliamentary, legislative, and administrative matters which was soon to serve him well.

Political advancement in Boston and in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, is in general an orderly process, passing from recognized step to step. After the City Government comes the State Government; the State House follows naturally upon City Hall. After his year in the Board of Aldermen Meyer accordingly offered himself as a Republican candidate for Representative in the General Court of Massachusetts from the Ninth District of Suffolk County, corresponding

with Ward 9 of Boston. In the State election of 1891 he was chosen, by his old constituency, to this office, and was reëlected in the four successive years, serving in the five Legislatures of 1892 to 1896, inclusive. In his first two years on Beacon Hill he appeared rather as a faithful and efficient than as a conspicuous member of the House. He counted for more in work on committees than in speaking from the floor. When he became a candidate for the Speakership, at the beginning of his third term, even his friends therefore were somewhat surprised. As on other occasions, they hardly believed he could accomplish his purpose; but again he did, and with a success that may fairly be called notable. His election was brought to pass, not by his own possession of the "hail-fellow-well-met" qualities of the politician which are supposed to make for popularity, but rather through his having established himself quietly in the friendship and confidence of the more thoughtful and influential members of the House, whose good opinion was of positive weight. Once elected to the guidance of a body fully alive to the fact that the legislation of Massachusetts often exerts an influence far beyond the boundaries of the State, he bore himself in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the Speakership.

To Meyer's own training of himself in the practice of public speech must be ascribed a large measure of the success he attained in this necessary function of a man in public life. About ten years after his occupancy of the Massachusetts Speakership, he wrote from Russia to his son — apropos of a debate at Gro-

ton School for which the boy was preparing himself — a letter which at this point serves an autobiographical purpose: —

I am very much interested that debating is going to begin, and I want to give you a few hints which I think will be of great assistance to you, from my own experience. Unfortunately I never took it up until I was about thirty, and therefore it came much harder. The great secret is to learn to be able to think on your feet; therefore in order to bring about that result do not write out what you are going to say and commit it to memory, for the following reasons: —

1. Because it defeats the main object of thinking and arguing on your feet while you are talking.

2. It makes one nervous, fearing one may forget what one has committed to memory, and consequently hampers one.

The main thing before the debate takes place is to read up sufficiently to be familiar with the subject, take a few notes of the points which you want to make, then arrange them in consecutive order. After you have done that, sit down, or stand up, either, and think out in your own mind what you want to say. If you find some points you don't express in your own mind clearly, work out that sentence, writing it if necessary, till you have your point clearly made. But do not try to commit the exact words to memory. After you have done this two or three times, you will be quite familiar with your subject and have gained confidence in yourself, which is the great object before you go into a debate. Try to arrange the arguments in your mind so that one will suggest the other, as you are debating. I think if you will follow out these ideas you will find it not only of assistance but most interesting, and in time you will be able to enter into these debates without much, if any, nervousness, if you will follow out conscientiously my suggestions.

At the conclusion of his third and last year in the Speaker's chair, his fellow-members of the Legislature, on June 9, 1896, passed a resolution of thanks to their presiding officer, made and heard a number of laudatory speeches seconding the resolution, and presented him with a loving cup. On occasions of this nature terms of eulogy are to be expected; but when one of the speakers is a man whose words are well known to mean precisely what they say, it is worth while to heed and recall them. The late Francis C. Lowell, then representing the Eleventh Suffolk District, and afterwards Judge of the United States Circuit Court, spoke as follows: —

Between seven and eight years ago I entered upon the public service at the same time and in the same office with the gentleman who has been Speaker of this House for the last three years, in the Common Council of the City of Boston. And highly as the friends of that gentleman then respected him, I doubt if all of them then anticipated the success which he has so honourably won in public life. That has been won, I believe, in the first place, by untiring patience and industry; in the second place, by perfect independence and wise judgment and a firm hold to honest convictions; and, in the third place, by a courtesy to all opponents, which has made any difference what it should be — a difference of principles and not a personal matter.

What success these qualities have shown in that Chair, every member of this House knows better than my words can say. The Speaker is the keeper of the traditions of this House. Those traditions are honoured. But on the floor of this House there are often times of hard conflict; there are often times when men of one side or the other, in the temper

of controversy, think but little of those traditions and strain every nerve for success. Proper decision can be reached on those occasions only, I believe, when that Chair is removed and is above the waves of controversy. That is what we have known here this year. However grandly and bravely we might fight on the floor, we have known that there was an umpire in that Chair whose decisions would in no sense be affected by his feelings. I attribute the good temper that has invariably characterized the proceedings of this House to the absolute faith of its members that they would receive fairness from its presiding officer.

I believe that the gentleman who has presided over us this year has maintained to the full the honourable traditions of the best of his predecessors, and has set an example which his successors will do well to emulate. I do not know whether the gentleman has political ambitions for the future. I believe he has. But far more important than that, I know this — that the Commonwealth cannot afford to lose the future services of the man who has served her so well as he has done in the past eight years.

In a private letter another fellow-worker with Meyer in the Massachusetts Legislature, the Hon. S. W. McCall, whose opportunities to observe him were often renewed in later years, has written: —

The quality in his mind that struck me was its directness. He faced a situation clearly, and when he had reached a conclusion to his satisfaction he adhered to it, and was usually able by his clearness to make others see the thing as he saw it. His manner helped him greatly. There was nothing over-assertive or dictatorial, but while firm, he was persuasive and willing to give due weight to the opinions of others.



SILVER PLATE PRESENTED TO MR. MEYER BY THE MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

TO WHAT
ATTENTION.

I recall especially a visit of his to Washington when the currency was in issue. He was clear-cut for gold and opposed to any compromise upon it, and yet he made no noise about it but convinced you that he had an opinion and gave good reasons for it.

The general spirit and results of Meyer's work as a member and Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives are fairly indicated by these contemporaneous and more recent expressions. For the details of that work it is enough to give a brief summary of some of the legislation with the advocacy of which he was specially associated. As Chairman of the Committee on Railroads he introduced a bill compelling railroads and quasi-public corporations to offer stock to their stockholders at a fair market price, when the stock was selling at a high premium. He took an active part in urging that municipal bonds be free from taxation, in order that they might be issued at a lower rate of interest and, therefore, at a saving to the community. He was instrumental in securing legislation which preserved the present State House, and was Chairman of the Commission which placed the front of the State House in a fireproof condition—a piece of work the more remarkable for being accomplished within the appropriation for it. He was one of the active instruments in securing the passage of the first subway bill. He favoured measures providing for proper payment to the municipality of Boston by transportation companies holding franchises granting the use of streets. While Speaker, he secured

the passage of a resolution directing him to appear before the House Committee on Rivers and Harbours in Washington, which resulted in an appropriation for the establishment of a 35-foot channel in Boston Harbour. In all of these measures the future — now the present — well-being of his city and state were intimately involved. Many of them had to do with financial and commercial improvements, of which the results do not clearly appear on the surface of things. A strong title to general remembrance in Boston, on the other hand, lies in his having borne an effective part in the preservation of the “Bulfinch front” of the Massachusetts State House.

It was when Meyer retired from the Massachusetts Legislature in 1896 that he established his legal residence at Hamilton in Essex County. For the next few years his business interests occupied most of his working hours. The winter of 1897 he spent abroad with his family, at Paris and Pau. In 1898 Governor Wolcott appointed him Chairman of the Massachusetts Paris Exposition Managers. In the same year he was chosen a member of the Republican National Committee for Massachusetts, a position which he held, with special success in the important function of raising campaign funds, until 1904. At home he served his party as a member of the Republican State Central Committee, and President of the Essex Club, a political organization in the county which had become his home. In public discussions of national politics he appeared as a well-informed defender of the principles of sound money and the gold

standard as against the free-silver agitations of Mr. Bryan. In the capacity of a private citizen, during the final years of the nineties, he was thus serving the public in a variety of ways through the service of the party in which he so strongly believed.

As a person of consequence in the Republican counsels, he was present at the party convention at Philadelphia in 1900, when Theodore Roosevelt, of the class next below his own at Harvard, was nominated for the vice-presidency. An authentic anecdote of that occasion should be recorded. The story goes that while Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, and reluctant to gratify the party managers in their attempt to force comparative obscurity upon him, was discussing the matter with Senator Penrose and General Bingham of Pennsylvania, he called George Meyer into the conference, and asked his advice. "They're trying to bury you," was Meyer's reply; "but, with your luck, they won't be able to do it, and I advise you to accept the nomination." The sequel is history.

To Meyer also, soon after this, came the necessity of making a decision of important bearing upon his subsequent career. In the early days of his residence in Essex County the Sixth Congressional District of Massachusetts was represented at Washington by the late William H. Moody. Before the expiration of his term Mr. Moody resigned his seat in order to become Secretary of the Navy, from which post he passed to those of Attorney-General and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Republican nominee

for the vacant place in Congress was virtually certain of election. Meyer had deserved so well of his party, and withal had shown himself so competent a public servant, that his nomination and election as a Congressman from Massachusetts, at a fitting opportunity, would have seemed a natural forward step, on both political and personal grounds. But another candidate was in the field, in the person of the late Augustus Peabody Gardner, also a Boston settler in Essex County, whose service of two terms in the Massachusetts Senate after Meyer's retirement from the General Court had prepared him for political promotion.

The time had not come for an active contest for this nomination when Meyer received from President McKinley, through a message delivered in person by Senator Hoar at Hamilton in the summer of 1900, an offer of the ambassadorship to Italy. The latest occupant of the post had been a Massachusetts man, General William F. Draper. It had been offered to another son of the same state, Governor Roger Wolcott, while he was abroad for several months beginning in May, 1900; but private considerations had led him to decline it, and his untimely death occurred before the end of the year. It was a post of high dignity and trust; but in deciding to accept it, Meyer must have asked himself seriously whether a seat in Congress might not afford an apter scope for his capacities, and might therefore be worth awaiting and contesting. A public servant who worked in close association with him some years later has said that Meyer possessed the best snap judgment of any man he ever en-

countered. In the case of the ambassadorship first thoughts could be followed by second; and the upshot of them was that he accepted the President's offer. If he had felt that he had made any mistake, he would doubtless have yielded, more than a year later, to the solicitation of political friends in Massachusetts who urged his return from Italy to engage in the actual contest for the Congressional nomination. His later decision merely confirmed the earlier, and the event abundantly proved the wisdom of both.

III

AMBASSADOR TO ITALY

(1900-1905)

MEYER's appointment to the Italian ambassadorship was confirmed by the United States Senate, December 14, 1900. On January 5, 1901, he sailed from New York with his wife and children, and his sister, Miss Heloise Meyer, on the Fürst Bismarck for Italy.

It was at this time that he began a practice which cannot be too highly commended to men whose contacts with persons and events of consequence are such as to give possible future occasion for a record of their own lives — the practice of keeping a diary. For approximately nine years he did this, without any considerable intermissions. The journal bears none of the marks of having been written for any purpose but that of keeping within reach of the writer's memory the experiences through which he passed. Many of the notes have to do merely with passing occurrences, "pleasures and palaces," dinners, balls, hunts, shooting, and fishing parties, the many activities of society in brilliant courts and capitals. But there are also many passages relating to affairs of more general interest, to conversations with monarchs and other rulers of men, to memorable scenes. Hastily pencilled and unrevised as they were, they possess a

distinctive quality of faithfulness, of authenticity, so that a reader of them is convinced that the actual facts of the matter recorded are spread before him. If King or Kaiser is set down as saying thus and so, one rests assured that the report is accurate. Just as one recognizes true "local colour" in pieces of fiction, even without any first-hand knowledge of the local background, so the diaries of George Meyer justify themselves as remarkably authentic chronicles. In this and succeeding chapters they will therefore be freely used, not only as records of his own life, but for the revealing light they throw upon personalities and circumstances which in recent years have acquired an historic importance quite unforeseen when the present century began. From time to time the narrative will be supplemented by letters to official friends in the American Government and to members of his family.

On the night before the Meyers sailed from New York, some twenty New York and Boston friends gathered at Sherry's for a farewell dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Meyer, given by Mr. Charles F. McKim, the architect, whose wife had been a sister of Mrs. Meyer. Appropriate words were spoken, and scenes of Rome soon to become familiar to the guests of honour were shown by magic lantern, besides ingenious views of the travellers themselves on their journey. The propitious start was followed by a good passage, *via* the Azores, Gibraltar, and Genoa, to Naples. Here the first day on Italian soil ended unfortunately. Let the diary describe it.

"*January 18, 1901.* — Arrived at Naples early. We all got on deck to see the sun rise as we sailed into the Bay of Naples, and we were much repaid — a magnificent sight. Vesuvius coughed and puffed out smoke soon after the sun rose. Met by Iddings,¹ First Secretary of the Embassy. Proceed to the Grand Hotel to lunch. In the afternoon Alice, Helo, and self drive to Pompeii; much impressed by the preservation of the streets, houses, stucco, etc. It kills time and space, and brings one's imagination vividly back.

"Ill all night — fish poison. Beware of fish in Naples!"

Suffering grievously from ptomaine poisoning, the new ambassador pushed on to Rome the next day, too ill even to speak to American friends who, with the entire staff of the Embassy, met him and his family at the station. There were comfortable rooms ready for them at the Grand Hotel, and here, with good medical and nursing care immediately summoned, Mr. Meyer regained sufficient strength in little more than a week to take his first walk abroad. Even before this he must have realized that he was in a friendly land, for on January 23 he had occasion to write in his diary: "Thanked the King for the boar which he had sent me and had killed himself."

The formalities of presenting credentials at the Foreign Office, and seeking and obtaining a first audience with the King, were soon performed. Two days before this audience Mr. and Mrs. Meyer attended the memorial service at All Saints (English) Church

¹ Mr. Lewis Morris Iddings.

in Rome, marking the day, February 2, appointed for the funeral of Queen Victoria; and he wrote in his diary: "Lady Currie, English Ambassadors, thanked me in person for attending, it being my first appearance since my illness."

On February 4 came the audience with King Victor Emmanuel III. From the brief description of it in the journal of that day it is enough to transcribe, "The King desired to know if the Philippines were to be our Transvaal, and how many troops we had in China; we also talked about game and the preservation of forests."

More than two years later Meyer made a record in his diary which deals with his introduction to the Italian court more adequately than the jottings at the immediate time. Thus it runs:—

"*May 30, 1903.* — At the request of the State Department I reported the formalities for a new Ambassador. On my arrival in Rome (January, 1901) I was obliged to take an apartment in the Grand Hotel, as the palace which had been occupied by my predecessors, Palazzo Piombino, had been purchased by the King as a residence for the Queen Mother.

"Having informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs [Visconti Venosta] of my arrival, I asked for an audience with the King. Duc de Fraginito, a Master of Ceremonies, called and notified me that the King would see me the following day at 1 o'clock. Two Royal state carriages with outriders in scarlet were sent to convey me to the Palazzo Reale (Quirinal); in the first, myself and Count Bruschi Falgari, a

Master of Ceremonies; in the second, my Secretaries. Instructed to appear in uniform — for the American Ambassador, evening dress. The Ambassador at his first reception by the King is received with formality and full official ceremony. Met at the foot of the stairs by Duc de Fraginito. In the anticamera the King's guard were drawn up — all over six feet. In the adjoining grand salon the King's household, all in full uniform, were presented to me by the préfet of the palace, Count Gianotti, and then I was received in the throne-room by His Majesty the King. Before taking my leave I presented my Secretaries.

“It is customary for every Ambassador to send 500 lira gratuities to the Royal Stable and lackeys on the occasion of the first presentation.

“England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Spain, and Turkey all have their permanent residencies for the Embassies. I should have been much inconvenienced at not having a house at my disposal, but for the fact that, the Court being in mourning for King Humbert, I was not called upon to give my Ricevimento the first season. It was important to find a palace sufficiently large for the first formal reception and in keeping with the scale which had already been established by my predecessors, and at the same time to bear favourable comparison with the Embassies of other countries. (The Italians are much affected by appearances.) Moved into Palazzo Brancaccio end of April, 1901. January, 1902, gave my Ricevimento. The list must first be submitted to the préfet

of the Palace, as it is a Court function for which two Masters of Ceremony are sent by the King to present the guests to the Ambassador and his wife. The list is confined to the members of the Court and such persons from other countries as have been presented at Court in Rome. The ceremony commences promptly at 10 and finishes at midnight. There is never dancing, but an elaborate supper. The officials and diplomats are expected to appear in full uniform. The entrance of the Palace and the streets adjoining on the night of the entertainment are guarded by a detachment of Municipal Guards. One guard is always assigned to each Embassy day and night."

The initial formalities dispatched, a place of residence suitable to the mode of life which the new Ambassador was prepared to adopt in Rome became an immediate object of search. It was found in the Palazzo Brancaccio, a modern dwelling built by the late Hickson Field of New York for his daughter, who had married Prince Brancaccio. The first and second floors of this palace, somewhat forbidding in its exterior but beautiful and spacious within, were taken by the Meyers. The lack of bathrooms in such a house hardly comported with American ideas of comfort; yet the sense of beauty received its compensating stimulus in the charming gardens of the Palace, with the Colosseum at their foot. Of these Mr. Meyer secured the use during his tenancy. Altogether the scene was one which lent itself admirably to the purposes of an Ambassador.

It could not be occupied at once, but on May 17, 1901, Meyer wrote in his diary: "Move into Brancaccio Palace and we are all glad to leave the hotel and get to our own appartement. The garden is perfectly beautiful, with green grass, fountains, palm trees, flowering shrubs, and the most beautiful roses growing profusely. We dine in our dining-room and enjoy a meal from our own chef." On the next day he wrote of the interior arrangements: "The appartement is most extensive and on a grand scale, with a fine and impressive staircase which opens into a hall; then a small reception room, my den, after that two large reception rooms, with ball-room beyond as large as Papanti's in Boston. Facing the garden is the dining-room, larger red room, conservatory, small sitting-room, small library, and larger living-room. On floor above, eight bed-rooms."

The diary in its completeness for the next four years would contribute many items to the personal records of Roman society for this period. The names of many sharers in the pleasures of that society, Italians, Europeans of other countries, and Americans, appear and reappear in its pages. Dinners, bridge, and other occasions for informal meetings with the diplomatic circle remind one that statecraft was always in the background. Days of work at the Embassy, letters to Washington, dealing with occasional international questions arising between Italy and the United States, receive their share of record. It was rather as a "listening-post" in the European world than as a station for difficult work in diplomacy that



PALAZZO BRANCACCIO, AMERICAN EMBASSY AT ROME, 1961-65

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Rome gave Meyer his opportunities for valuable service through the four years of his ambassadorship; and in establishing many relations of intimacy and friendship, he was constantly turning the pleasant life he led to valuable purposes of his own government. It is thus, indeed, that diplomats may often serve their countries best in times of peace in the world. There is no better way of coming to know men than by playing with them; and if Meyer had not been capable of the all-round sportsmanship which made him so welcome a companion to the spirited young men of whom the Italian King and his cousins were the conspicuous types, the useful knowledge of Italian and European affairs which he could acquire, as it were, "in passing," would have been appreciably less. All this appears, without intention, in the diary.

He had been in Rome less than a month when he noted in his journal, February 14, his first ride with the hounds, on borrowed mounts, on the Campagna. The next day he bought a hunter of his own, "Good Luck," from the Master of the Hounds; and ten days later recorded a large turn-out at the hunt: "Had a good run; the first big stone wall stopped the field; six of us got over and I got the brush." His enjoyment of the hunt at Rome finds many records in his journal.

So, in the early days of his ambassadorship, did his pleasure in the motor-car with which he supplemented his Roman stable. Addressing the Essex Agricultural Society at its annual meeting in 1897, he had spoken of the automobile in terms which sound

to-day archaic, but are good to recall as a reminder of the strangeness of the new vehicles hardly more than twenty years ago. "I venture to predict," he said, "that some of us here to-day will live to see the time when it will be as rare to see carriages drawn by horses as it is at present to see street cars drawn by horses." That time had not come when Meyer went to Rome, and the uses of the automobile were not appreciated even by those who might easily command them. The newspaper interviewer cited in the previous chapter may be quoted again, to relate the circumstance of Mr. Meyer's introducing the motor-car to the favour of the Italian King. Thus he tells the story:—

"At Castel Porziano King Victor Emmanuel had a lodge, whither he went occasionally to shoot wild boars. It was only 25 miles from Rome by a single-track railroad. His Majesty had been starting on these shooting trips very early in the morning and returning late in the evening. Ambassador Meyer suggested to him that the automobile would be a great time-saver. To demonstrate it, he took his royal host to Castel Porziano in the new machine. They started after breakfast and were back in Rome at 3.30 o'clock the same afternoon. That settled it. The King purchased an automobile.

"They travelled so rapidly that the King's bodyguards, who trailed along behind him as do the secret service men behind the President,—on bicycles,—were lost outside the walls of Rome, when the automobile party passed into the Campagna.

“ ‘I have broken the law to-day, Your Majesty,’ said Mr. Meyer as they whizzed along the wild countryside. ‘I am carrying a revolver.’ He had taken this precaution, because of anxiety about the King’s safety.

“ ‘I have one, too,’ was the royal rejoinder.

“The King had little fear of assassination, in spite of his father’s fate. But he went armed on those occasions, with the intention of putting up a fight against any possible assailant.”

This episode is not related in the diary, but many occasions of informal meetings with the King and other members of the royal family are noted. There are also frequent allusions to points of international intercourse — the arrangements for Italian participation in the St. Louis Exposition, matters of tariff on American imports, an unfortunate affair involving a conflict between American sailors and the civil authorities of Venice, complications with Venezuela, naturalization questions, and, towards the end of his Roman days, the overshadowing menace of the Russo-Japanese war. All these matters are chronicled with greater and less detail in the diary, of which some of the most interesting pages deal also with meetings with the Kaiser, in Rome, Berlin, and elsewhere. But it is superfluous to describe the journal in detail while certain of its pages may themselves be used. The many ensuing extracts from it will be given without more of annotation than the necessities of understanding on the part of the reader seem to require.

On May 19 Meyer saw Monsignor O'Connell, now Cardinal in Boston, consecrated Bishop of Portland at St. John Lateran. The next day he wrote:—

"*May 20.*—Dined with MacNutt¹—dinner given to the new Bishop of Portland; also met Archbishop Chappelle of New Orleans, who had been for a year in the Philippines. Had a very interesting talk with him on the condition of affairs at Manila and in the Islands generally. The reception was entirely of 'blacks,' Cardinals, Monsignors, Bishops, and Archbishops.

"*May 21.*—11.15, audience with the King of nearly an hour. It is the custom to ask for an audience when leaving before the Court.² They generally last 15 or 20 minutes. He compared and discussed the constitution of Italy and America, the malicious spirit of the Italians in certain quarters against royalty. I called attention to the unfortunate limit of age as regards entering the Chamber of Deputies, that Italy could never have a Pitt or Alexander Hamilton. The King said that his powers were much less than President McKinley's. The King gave me the first cast of the new 3-lira piece with his head and the new stamps for my boy. I am to send His Majesty our new set of stamps of the Pan-American Exposition.

"*May 23.*—Archbishop Chappelle lunched with me to-day. He has just come from the Philippine Islands—went there at the request of the President. His views are that the Tagalog leaders should be trans-

¹ Francis A. MacNutt, an American member of the Papal household.

² Mr. Meyer was about to leave Rome for Homburg, where he took the waters, *en route* to the United States.

ported to Guam, or any other leader; the native priest is our worst enemy; the laws should be changed gradually, the friars friendly to Americans (their interest to be). The Filipino not friendly to American as yet, will take time to gain their confidence. The leaders are natural courtiers, that is, they lie and are treacherous. Valuable coal deposits. The Islands the key to the Orient. At present, religious controversies to be avoided for some time. The Archbishop had muzzled some, will do all in his power to continue this and has worked in the interest of the American policy. General MacArthur an able man — Taft a great lawyer, man of ability, a Judge but not a Governor — the two professors theorists, and — a politician, but narrow.

“*June 1.* — We leave Palazzo Brancaccio with regret, as we had become very comfortably settled. Leave on the 9.30 train for Venice. Count of Turin¹ has the adjoining compartment. At Florence I was handed a telegram, and at the same moment one was given to Count of Turin. It was the announcement that the Queen had given birth to a Princess; she is to be called Yolanda Margherita.”

This day of travel was the first of a journey by easy stages to Homburg, with much agreeable sight-seeing and many encounters with friends by the way. At Homburg Mr. Meyer and his family remained for several weeks, while he took the waters. Thence they proceeded to London for a week of many pleas-

¹ Cousin of the King.

ures with American and English friends before Mr. Meyer himself sailed for America, July 17. In the journal for the days in London it is interesting to note a call (July 14) upon Senator Lodge — then chairman of the Senate Committee on the Philippines — and “a talk with him about the Philippines and the situation there as reported to me by Archbishop Chappelle”; and during the passage to New York the entry for July 21: “Captain’s night. Usual fuss and feathers. I am called upon to speak. Speech well received. Toast to the Kaiser did not receive the applause one would have expected on a German steamer, but President McKinley toast received with enthusiasm.”

A stay of nearly two months in America enabled Mr. Meyer to attend to many affairs of business, to renew many friendships at Newport and Hamilton, and to refresh his knowledge of national matters. A visit to President McKinley at Canton, described in the diary, contributed to this end: —

“*August 31.* — Arrive at Cleveland at 8 o’clock. Met at the station by Colonel Herrick. We breakfast at his house. Take the 11.30 train for Canton, Ohio. Arrive there at 1.30. Taken to the [hotel] by the secretary of the President and lunch with General MacArthur, just arrived from Manila. At 3 o’clock we call upon President McKinley, who received us with a charming grace and hospitality. Pass the afternoon with the President, and am invited to be present while General MacArthur makes his report on the Philippine Islands. Most interesting. The

President invites General MacArthur and myself to stop to dinner. Spent a delightful evening, long to be remembered. Charmed by the President, who is a most lovable man. Impressed with General MacArthur's report. He has been with the Army at Manila for three years. Had a better opinion of the Filipino than I expected, and says General Funston's capture of Aguinaldo was a brave act and required great courage."

Less than a week later, after busy days in New York and Boston, and a meeting of the Essex Club, at which he delivered a prepared address, Meyer, at Hamilton, wrote in his diary, September 6: "At six o'clock I hear that the President has been shot at in Buffalo at the Pan-American Exposition — a dastardly deed. May God spare his life!" On the following day he wrote: "The attempted assassination of the President may not turn out to be fatal; the people incensed and enraged"; and for the few remaining days of his stay in America he noted with hope the favourable items of news from the bedside of the doomed McKinley. On the very day of his sailing from New York for England, September 11, the diary reports: "President continues to improve. We shall probably get remedial legislation as regards anarchists." Then follow brief notes of the uneventful passage, with this at the end of it: —

"*September 18.* — At 5 A.M. the SS. *Majestic* reaches Queenstown. The purser comes into my stateroom to wake me and announce that the President was dead! I am terribly shocked and overcome by the

announcement. The week before he was shot I spent the day and evening with him at his home in Canton. I was charmed by the President, a most lovable and high-minded man, with a wonderful grace of manner. It seems very strange now that I should have called his attention that day to the meeting of the anarchists on July 29 in Paterson, N. J., to celebrate the assassination of King Humbert, and one speaker went so far as to wish there was a Bresci in every country — a dangerous sentiment to be allowed to be expressed publicly.

“Arrived at Liverpool at 5 P.M., just as the Germanic was sailing for New York. The paper was full of the death of President McKinley, much English sympathy expressed in a touching manner.”

That night Meyer noted with happiness the finding of all his family well in London, and wrote the next day: —

“*September 19.* — Alice and I attend the Memorial Service at Westminster Abbey for President McKinley, a most impressive service. The various Ambassadors and Ministers of the different countries were present, — Lord Pembroke who represented the King, now in Denmark, the American Ambassador, Mr. Choate, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Mount Stephen, Lord Revelstoke, Lord Cranborne, Lord Chief Justice of England, the various Bishops, Charles Francis Adams, Lord and Lady Pauncefote, Henry L. Higginson, and others. In the evening we dined quietly with Mr. and Mrs. Choate at their house, No. 1, Carlton House Terrace.”

The journey back to Rome was broken by a stay in Paris, where Meyer called upon King Leopold of Belgium, — “a fine-looking old gentleman who goes about in a most democratic way,” — a shooting visit to Scotland, — which called forth the suggestive comment, “the men know how to live and enjoy life, but the women are not in it,” — and stops on the way “home” at Turin and Florence. The first note in Rome, October 22, is one of pleasure: “Glad to have the sunshine again. Find one grows very attached to the place.” By degrees, as October drew to an end, the diplomatic and other Roman circles reassembled, and the engrossing life of the capital was taken up anew.

On November 23 an audience with the King, “gracious and in good spirits, and grown stout,” is recorded, though without details of the forty-five minutes’ talk. There are notes on the dissatisfaction of the Italian Government with the too frequent lynchings of Italians in the Southern states, and the difficulties of comprehending the distinction between our state and federal jurisdiction; also the first of many references to Meyer’s interest in the American Academy at Rome, here shown in his notifying the State Department that he will act as trustee *ex officio* for it. A few longer entries round out the first year in Italy.

“December 7. — At 1 o’clock to-day we arrive at the Palace of the Quirinal (Alice and myself) to have our audience with Queen Elena, she having telephoned at 11 that she had a sore throat and desired Alice not to come décolleté. The Queen was

dressed in a lavender velvet dress trimmed with fur, similar to Alice's, which was black velvet trimmed with fur, and each had on a pearl necklace. The Queen is handsome, tall and good figure. She asked Alice where she came from. I think the Queen thought I had married a German, as Alice is so blond. Queen Elena said she was devoted to automobiling and enjoyed long journeys, can even take a nap. The King and Queen are living in the Villa of the Palace. Audience lasted 25 minutes.

"*December 19.* — Dined this evening with Prince and Princess Doria in the Doria Palace. It was here that he entertained the German Kaiser in 1893. The Kaiser in leaving said, 'I hope you will come to Berlin, but I shall be unable to entertain you so handsomely.' Prince Doria's palace is full of beautiful paintings and engravings and tapestries.

"*December 30.* — Go to the hunt for an hour only, as Steed¹ was giving me a lunch so as to meet Baron Sidney Sonnino, a very interesting man, one of the few public men pointed to in Italy as honest, straightforward. The other guests were Baron Tucher, Bagot, Norton, Professor Boni, Count Juliano. In the evening at 9.30, Alice and I left Palazzo Brancaccio to attend the Court reception given by the King and Queen of Italy to the Diplomatic Corps. Our Secretaries followed in another carriage. On arriving at the Quirinal Palace the Life Guards of the King were drawn up in front of the entrance inside the

¹H. Wickham Steed, correspondent of the London *Times*, now its editor.

door, all over 6 feet and in red uniform. We assembled, after passing through several outer chambers, in a large salon about 80 feet long and 50 feet high, when the different Ambassadors and legations arranged themselves according to length of service at Rome — the Austrian Ambassador being the dean of the Ambassadors. The King and Queen came in at 10 minutes after ten o'clock, followed by eight ladies-in-waiting and two gentlemen-in-waiting, Marquis Calabrine and —, who moved her train for her as she stopped and talked with each Ambassador and Ambadress. The King commenced with the Austrian and the Queen with the Russian Ambassador, and then worked around the room talking to each in turn. The Queen looked very handsome in a yellow dress. . . .

“It was quite an impressive sight. . . . At 11.40 they left the room as we all bowed, the ladies curtsying. Alice had a great many compliments on having the most beautiful dress and figure at the Court on this occasion. Lady Currie said that Count von Wedel¹ and the American Ambadress were the most striking people, with the finest uniform and Court dress, at the reception. As I heard it from many sources the next day, it made me very proud of my wife, the American Ambadress.”

Early in the new year the official Ricevimento, to which reference has already been made, was held at the Palazzo Brancaccio. The following passage touches upon it, and an audience early in the day: —

¹ German Ambassador at Rome.

“January 4, 1902. — Audience with the Queen Mother [Margherita] at two o'clock. I went in first; two minutes afterwards Alice was escorted in. The Queen lives in the Palace now known as Margherita's Palace, formerly Piombino, and occupied by MacVeagh and Draper¹ when they were Ambassadors.

“The Queen was very attractive and charming, and seemed interested and posted in everything that was going on. Her son, the King, evidently gets many qualities from her and looks like her. We had a most agreeable talk of half an hour. The Ministers of Roumania and Chili were waiting for an interview. . . .

“We gave an official reception in the evening. The two masters of ceremonies sent from the Court were the Duca la Rosa and Count Bruschi, who presented all the guests as they entered the room to Alice and myself. We received from 10 to 11.30, Count Bruschi standing by Alice and Santa Rosa by me. After that every one entered the ball-room, where supper was served. It was very brilliant as the Ambassadors and Ministers and their suites all came in uniform, also the officers and the Italians with all the decorations that they ever owned.

“The Palace and the plan of the rooms with the ball-room lends itself to a grand reception, and everyone was most complimentary and said it was exceptionally brilliant.

“January 19. — Dine at the Court. Dinner given

¹ Wayne MacVeagh of Pennsylvania, and William F. Draper of Massachusetts, Meyer's immediate predecessors.

by the King and Queen at the Quirinal to the Chiefs of Mission only.

"We all assembled in the reception-room outside of the dining-room, or banquet hall. As the King and Queen entered, the men all bowed solemnly and the ladies curtsied. After a few minutes' conversation, the King gave his arm to Baroness Pasetti, the Austrian Ambassadors,¹ and Baron Pasetti, escorted the Queen to the table. Baron P. told me that in Austria royalty never takes the arm of any one but royalty.

"Alice was taken in by Count von Wedel, the German Ambassador, and again every one said that they made the most regal-looking couple in the room, the German in his full uniform and Alice in black velvet, décolleté, with her turquoise necklace across the front of her dress and all her pearls and diamonds about her neck.

"The Queen looked very lovely and has sweet and simple manners. . . . Alice sat within one of the Queen, as Lady Currie and Mme. de Nelidow² were ill. . . . Music played throughout dinner, and a large toothpick was at every plate, for use!

"After dinner the King and Queen spoke to each one of us separately; the men were obliged to stand."

The surviving Puritan in George Meyer found expression not much later in a Sunday note in the journal: "Played hearts in the evening: first time I have ever played cards with a clergyman on Sunday."

¹ Doyenne of the Diplomatic Corps, who had shown many kindnesses to Mrs. Meyer on her arrival at Rome.

² The Russian Ambassadors.

That the humours of the hunt were not lost upon him the following entry bears witness:—

“*February 10.*—Gave Lord Charles Beresford a mount on Good Luck. He had new spurs, and unconsciously he pricked him, and the horse got away with him. I thought I should fall off, laughing. It reminded me of the description of the Captain on horseback in ‘Peregrine Pickle.’

“We had a good run and killed the fox. French Ambassador ran into an Italian officer, knocked him down, and then fell off himself.”

The throne and those nearest to it are seen, officially and unofficially, in the two ensuing entries:—

“*February 20.*—The King opens Parliament; sits on the throne, with the Duc d’Aosta¹ standing on his right and Count of Turin on his left; on each side also stood Duc des Abruzzes and Duc de Gênes. The Queen was in a box on the first gallery with her ladies-in-waiting, opposite to the King. When the King bowed to her, she made a low curtsy.

“The Ambassadors and Chiefs of Mission, with their wives, were in large box adjoining the Queen. The King read the speech, which lasted 10 to 15 minutes. The procession was very fine, the King and Queen in separate State carriages; the street was lined with troops.

“*February 21.*—Hunt at Cecchignola.

“The Count of Turin and Duchess d’Aosta² at-

¹The King’s cousin, then heir apparent; the Count of Turin and Duke of the Abruzzi are the Duke of Aosta’s younger brothers; the Duke of Genoa, another cousin.

²The Princess Elena of Orleans, daughter of the Comte de Paris.



MR. MEYER AND HIS DAUGHTERS, RIDING TO THE HUNT, ON THE CAMPAGNA

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tended. Was presented to the Count of Turin by the M. F. H., Marquis Raccogiovini; to H. R. H. Duchess d'Aosta by the French Ambassador. I found her most gracious and agreeable, as well as attractive, and later rode and talked quite a while with her.

"We had a good run with the hounds, but did not kill. Julia and Alice, my daughters, went out with me and enjoyed it, as did the Reverend Roland Cotton Smith, to whom I gave a mount.

"Went out and came back in the automobile."

Through March and April of 1902 many cables and letters passed between Meyer and his political friends in Massachusetts regarding the possibility of his coming home to contest the seat in Congress made vacant by the appointment of William H. Moody as Secretary of the Navy. Had he finally yielded to the strong solicitations of those who believed that the contest would prove successful, there might well have been quite a different story to tell in the remaining pages of this book. It is not often, however, that the "ifs" and the "might have beens" suggest so clearly that the decision arrived at was wise. In the work of a Congressman it is hardly conceivable that Meyer could have acquired so valuable a training for the posts he was ultimately to occupy as that which his European experience afforded. His remaining in Rome at this time was fully to justify itself, as a previous reference to the subject has intimated, on the score of sound judgment.

A test of Meyer's ability to handle a delicate sit-

uation — though of a somewhat sordid nature — occurred at about this time. Near the end of April Italian and American newspapers had much to say about the complications that followed the arrest of four officers of the U.S.S. Chicago at Venice, as the result of an overturned table after too liberal a dinner at the Café Piazza, with property damages and physical conflict with the civil authorities and imprisonment ensuing in due course. The Consul-General at Venice did not notify the Ambassador for two days after the affair, when the conduct of it had passed beyond the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office into that of the Ministry of Justice. Through prompt and energetic dealings with Washington by cable and with the Italian authorities in person, Meyer managed to secure a special pardon, and liberation of the offenders, from the King himself, and the transfer of the punishment they deserved from the court at Venice to their superior officers on the Chicago. Though obviously not an affair of great moment, it was one of those from which international ill-feeling and resentment are capable of growing, and its tactful, effective handling by the American Ambassador was an earnest of his capacity to deal with larger issues as they should arise. At the conclusion of the matter he wrote in his diary: —

“*May 5.* — Had my audience with the King of Italy at 1 o'clock; found him quite recovered from his accident to knee and in good spirits and very cordial — gracious is the expression with royalty. Conveyed to him the grateful appreciation of the President for

his prompt and gracious action in freeing the officers of the Chicago from prison.

“The King and Queen leave for Turin at 7.30.”

The occasion of the King's departure for Turin was the unveiling, on May 7, of a statue of Prince Amadéo, the King's uncle, father of the Duke of Aosta and Count of Turin. Meyer, with his wife and other members of his family, went also to Turin, the only ambassador at the Italian court — if a newspaper account of the day is to be credited — who attended the ceremony. A tournament, as of earlier days, gave its flavour to the occasion, which was immediately followed by the opening of an International Exposition of Modern Decorative Art, with an American section. A few notes from the diary suggest something of an ambassador's part in it all: —

“*May 7.* — Reach Turin at 4.30 A.M. — just daylight. Retire to my room at Hotel Europe, but get up again at 8 A.M. Call Alice and Helo at 9 A.M. It was a beautiful day, and soon after we arrived the Duke and Duchess d'Aosta drove into the enclosure in state, men in scarlet livery; next the Princess Letitia,¹ the Duchess of Genoa, and the Duke;² last of all, the King and Queen and their ladies-in-waiting, also Life Guards mounted and brought from Rome.

“After the unveiling of the statue the King in-

¹ The second wife of Prince Amadéo of Savoy, a sister of Prince Napoleon.

² Prince Thomas, Duke of Genoa, and his wife, Princess Isabella of Bavaria.

vited me to come up on the royal platform, where I was received by the King and Queen and invited to sign the deed with the royal family conveying the statue to the city.

"In the evening came the tournament in which the Duke of Aosta, Count of Turin took part, and a number of noblemen all on horseback, representing the Duke of Savoy (Amadéo), about 200 years back. All the royal family present; very brilliant and well done.

"*May 9.* — At 7 A.M. Alice and I had an audience with the Duchess d'Aosta. We were there for about half an hour. She was most agreeable and talkative. She hoped we were not going to leave Italy, and mentioned seeing me at the monument, but it was impossible to bow from the stage in the presence of so much royalty. Their palace very attractive; reception-room on the ground floor with fine tapestries.

"*May 10.* — Splendid view of the King and Queen and the royal family as they leave the palace for the Exposition, with the troops drawn up on both sides of the street and the buglers playing in a most spirited way.

"When the King and Queen with the royal party arrived at the American Quarter of the Exposition, I received them and escorted them over the apartment. They remarked especially the pictures of the Waldorf, and also the Exposition of the Gorham Company.

"Attend the dinner given by the Sindaco of Turin. The Duke of Aosta presided, next to him Count of Turin, then Duke of Genoa, G. v. L. M., and on my other side Bianchini, President of the Chamber of

Deputies; beyond him Zanardelli, the Premier; Duke of the Abruzzi was also present. In all 250 guests. The Duke of Aosta spoke very well and easily."

Other days of ceremonial were soon to follow in Rome, when the Shah of Persia visited the Italian King. The diary relates some of the circumstances and impressions of this visit.

"*May 21.* — We all go to Countess Gianotti, to see the King and Shah of Persia on their way to the Quirinal Palace from the station, escorted by the Life Guards all mounted on horses seventeen hands high, the guards themselves over six feet. The street lined with soldiers, music playing, crowds shouting.

"*May 22.* — Get up at 7 A.M. and leave in the auto to see the parade in honour of the Shah.

"The King, Count of Turin and the Staff, also military attachés all on horseback.

"The Queen comes in a carriage with Shah of Persia. It was a very brilliant parade, the Bersagliéri being a special feature, who went by the King double-quick step, the bugles playing as they advanced and running at the same time. There were also the detached balloons with the gun carriages.

"*May 23.* — Garden party in the palace of the King — at the Quirinal — given in honour of the Shah.

"The King and Queen and the royal party adjourned to the pavilion. At first the Ambassadors were invited to join them. The King stood beside Alice a long time and walked with her. She attempted

to stand but [was] told that if she stood he would leave! The Ambassadors were then invited to come into the pavilion.

“Barrère¹ and I talked with the King, and he told us of the Shah’s fear of the cannons, and that they had to stop them.

“The royal party adjourned into the adjoining room with the Ambassadors and had tea. The Garden is very beautiful and was laid out by Maderna.

“*May 24.*—Attend the dinner at the King’s Palace given in honour of the Shah to the Chiefs of Mission in the Diplomatic Corps. The only ladies present were the Queen and her two ladies-in-waiting, Countess Trigona and Duchess Grazioli Lante.

“The Queen entered the salon on the arm of the Shah of Persia, the King and the Count of Turin each following with a lady-in-waiting. After they had greeted the Ambassadors, we all went into dinner. I sat in the third seat to the left of the King, between the French Ambassador, Barrère, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Prinetti. The dinner lasted less than an hour. I can usually eat very fast, but my plate was taken away at each course before I had finished.

“After dinner the King came forward and spoke to me before the other Ambassadors and talked very agreeably for some time; told me about the Shah declining at the last moment to go and pay his respects to the Pope, for the reason that Cardinal Rampolla²

¹ Camille Barrère, the French Ambassador.

² Papal Secretary of State.

would not return the visit until it could be done at a hotel, declining to enter the house of a Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Quirinal.

"After the King left me, his cousin the Count of Turin, came forward and talked, but he had to leave shortly on account of the Shah of Persia coming forward to address me.

"The Queen sat on the sofa and had each Ambassador and Minister brought up separately, with whom she talked a few minutes. She addressed me in German and was most charming and affable, sending greeting to my wife and also a message to the girls, saying it always gave her pleasure to see them in Rome.

"*May 25.* — The Shah of Persia leaves Rome this morning, much to the relief of the King and Queen. The Shah could speak no language except his own, and is in reality a brute, and, the King tells me, a coward as well."

In Naples a few days later Mr. Meyer paid official visits to American vessels of war, then at that port, took note of officers on the Chicago involved in the unfortunate affair at Venice a month before, and met Bishop Brent and Governor Taft, returning from the Philippines, the Governor on his way to Rome to treat with the Vatican regarding the friars and the disposal of their property in the Islands. "A most companionable man," was Meyer's description of him when they met at lunch in Rome on June 7, — the day of the Ambassador's summer departure for Hom-

burg and the United States,—and discussed the ambitions of other Americans for ambassadorial appointments.

The King and Queen Mother, with whom he had farewell audiences on the day before, each expressed the hope that he would surely return, for there were rumours that a change was impending in the American Embassy at Rome. Rumours of this kind, with little or no foundation, were of somewhat frequent recurrence, and such a visitor as Governor Taft could often throw light upon their origin.

The journey to Homburg was broken by a pleasant stop at Turin, where the races of a *Concours Hippique* were in progress, and the Count of Turin and Duke of Aosta welcomed the travellers with much hospitality. After a fortnight of application to the "cure" at Homburg, the yacht races at Kiel afforded Mr. Meyer the first of a number of opportunities that were to fall to him within the coming five years to meet and talk with the Kaiser. All these interviews are recorded, with some detail, in his European journals. On June 28, 1902, he noted his arrival at Kiel, where he was met at the station by Captain W. H. Beehler, United States Naval Attaché for Rome and other capitals, and was put up at the Kaiserlichen Yacht Club. The diary for the ensuing days is as follows:—

"June 29. — At 11 o'clock go out in Mrs. Klemperer's steam launch to see the Meteor¹ race. At the start we passed the Empress in her launch, to whom

¹ The Kaiser's American-built yacht.

we all rose and bowed, the Empress returning the salute.

“Later in the day, one of the Committee came on our boat and used it to notify the first two boats that the course was changed; then we notified the Kaiser, but he declined to accept the change. The two first boats had already turned the stake-boat, and this left the Committee man in a humiliating situation, as he had to go back and tell the other two boats to continue the old course, which they did under protest.

“The wind died out and the boats did not get back until 2 A.M.

“Mr. Armour of the *Utowana* and Mr. Robinson of the *Wanderer* called.

“*June 30.* — Called on Mr. Robinson on the *Wanderer*. Marion Story and his wife, also Miss Gray, on board. Left a card on the *Utowana*.

“At 7 o'clock went to the Yacht Club, where the Kaiser distributed the prizes to the officers. Was presented to the Kaiser by the Chancellor von Bülow. The Kaiser is not as tall as I expected to find him, but he impressed me as a very strenuous man, with the faculty of giving you his entire attention while he is speaking to you. After the prizes were given out, the Kaiser again spoke to me before going to dinner.

“At dinner I sat beside Admiral Eisendecker, who went to America with Prince Henry. After dinner we adjourned to the garden, where cigars, beer, and coffee were served. While we were standing around Prince Henry arrived, having come from England

direct to Kiel in his man-of-war. I was impressed with the incident of Prince Henry's arrival, for at that moment the Kaiser was talking with Vice-Commodore Robinson of the New York Yacht Club. The Kaiser went on talking, and Prince Henry stood without speaking, and waiting for his brother to recognize him before saluting. Then the Kaiser and his brother stood for some time talking. Afterwards the Kaiser came over and joined Chancellor von Bülow and myself. We had been smoking and talking together for some time. I had a most interesting talk with His Majesty for nearly half an hour about the Marconi System and the gifts he is sending to Harvard.

"Later in the evening was presented to Prince Henry and was invited to sit down while we smoked and talked. I note he drank whisky and soda; all the other Germans took beer.

"*July 1.* — Alice and I went on board the steam yacht *Wanderer* belonging to Vice-Commodore Robinson, in order to follow the race to Eckernförde.

"The Kaiser on the *Meteor* got in 20 minutes ahead of all the other yachts, but the time allowance that he has to give is so great that he only got the third prize.

"In the evening we went ashore to a little hall which corresponds to a village town hall. While we were waiting outside, Alice and myself, the Kaiser came along and shook hands with me, recognizing me in the crowd. Inside were the yachtsmen, the different members of the Cabinet, von Bülow, and the admirals. The Kaiser invited me to sit beside him

on right; on the other side was Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and the Prince of Monaco. Later in the evening Grand Duke Michel of Russia arrived unexpectedly and I gave my place up to him. The Grand Duke Michel is at present heir to the throne.

"Prince Henry had an extraordinary experience that evening. The Kaiser sent him to receive the Grand Duke, [who] was on his man-of-war which had just come from London. Prince H. could find no launch, and therefore took a row-boat with four fishermen in it to go out to the Russian man-of-war. When he got there in this peculiar conveyance, the man-of-warriors would pay no attention to him, not even allowing him to come on board. He then got quite excited and said that he was an admiral of the German navy and they must recognize him, which was reluctantly done, probably with fear.

"The Kaiser greeted the Grand Duke Michel when he arrived and, speaking in English, said that it must have been a peculiar experience for the Grand Duke to find himself in such a place and under such conditions!

"*July 2.*—The Kaiser took on the Meteor the four owners of yachts, Robinson, Armour, Griscom, and Widener.

"The Kaiser's boat, the Meteor, again came in first, but on time allowance the first prize went to the Empress's yacht, the Vicuna, the Meteor receiving second prize. We got back to Kiel at 12.

"At 1.30 we lunched on board the Nahma, Mrs. Goelet's boat. It is the finest yacht that I have ever

seen — like a beautiful château inside, and surpasses the Hohenzollern, belonging to the Kaiser.

“*July 3.* — In the morning Alice and I took a walk and found that the Corsair with J. Pierpont Morgan, had arrived. Alice and I went out and called. On board were Dr. and Mrs. Marcoe, Mrs. Douglas, Mr. Lanier, Robert Bacon, and Miss Morgan.

“Mr. Morgan lunched on the Hohenzollern. In the afternoon the Kaiser, von Bülow, etc., called on the Corsair.

“In the afternoon we went through the Kiel Canal. It was commenced in 1889 and finished in 1895.

“*July 4.* — The Morgan-Griscom-Widener party all leave for Homburg. There is a big deal on including some traffic agreement of German SS. lines in the Atlantic Ocean Trust which is being formed.

“We leave for Paris at 11.25.

“Reach Cologne at 10 o'clock; have time to walk around the Cathedral, which is now entirely finished. I had not seen it since 1878, when I was traveling alone between my junior and senior year at Harvard.”

After a short stay in Paris Mr. Meyer sailed for America, where he passed nearly two months, unmarked by signal events. Ten days in hospital for an operation — the prospect of which had helped him to decide against running for Congress — consumed a portion of the vacation. On one of its days of freedom, July 25, he lunched with President Roosevelt

at Oyster Bay, and made record of the meeting. "The President most cordial. Talk over his affairs and the situation as to his renomination; go over the question very thoroughly." Here is a point on which more of detail would be welcome.

It was enough to say of another matter which may have an antiquarian interest some day: "*August 4.* — Talked with Charley McKim about the 'White House' which he is doing over in Washington, and arranged to have the eagles in the large room of the Somerset Club copied for him."

On September 13 Meyer sailed again for Europe, and after stopping in Scotland for a few days of shooting, rejoined his family in Paris on October 1. Visits to Turin, Milan, and Florence, the more agreeable by reason of much friendly intercourse with the Duke of Aosta and the Count of Turin, broke the return to Rome, where he arrived before the end of October. A few passages from the diary for the remainder of the year will suffice to record it.

"*November 19.* — Audience with the King this morning at 10 A.M. As I entered the room, the King announced that the Queen had given birth to another princess¹ at 1.30 A.M. This was the first that I had heard of it, the news not having been sent to the press in time for the morning editions.

"The King was very cordial and expressed gratification that I was not giving up my post. We discussed the 'Statuto,' also the disappearance of the premium on gold, and the Italian colonization in

¹ Princess Mafalda.

Argentina, which he said he hoped would practically become eventually an Italian republic.

"*November 22.* — Leave Rome for Ardea in the auto; take Waldo Story, Professor Norton, and Lieutenant Peruzzi di Medici. From Porta S. Paolo we went to Ardea in 47 minutes, the distance being 43 kilometres.

"We arrived at Story's shooting-box on the Mediterranean at 1 o'clock, just one hour from the palace. Kill 35 snipe and 4 teal duck. The duck-shooting was a novelty. You wait until after dark in a blind, and then, when the ducks fly over your head, you can see them against the sky and shoot. The difficulty is to find them after they fall in the marsh.

"*November 23.* — We have a fox-hunt after riding on little ponies for about 10 kilometres along the coast, the waves of the Mediterranean breaking on the beach and the quaint fishing-boats dodging on the surface of the ocean in the distance. Occasionally we pass fishermen up to their waists in water, dragging hand nets.

"We get three foxes, and late in the afternoon after the sun has set, I shoot a couple of mallard.

"*December 10.* — Preside at Sir R. Rodd's,¹ at meeting of Anglo-American Home. Stormy meeting, many points of order raised; my experience as Speaker of the House most useful on this occasion.

¹ Sir Rennell Rodd, then Secretary of the British Embassy, now British Ambassador, at Rome.

Meeting lasted three hours; congratulated by both factions for the fairness of my rulings.

"*December 15.*— Attended the Chamber of Deputies at 5 o'clock to hear Minister of Foreign Affairs Prinetti speak on the Venezuela Affair. Italy will send two men-of-war to act in the blockade with England and Germany.

"The Chamber is carried on with very little formality and attention to parliamentary rules. Some of the members labour and take violent exercise in gesticulations when they speak. They are very voluble and speak with ease and rapidity, but not always to the point.

"*December 15.*— Minister of Foreign Affairs notifies me of their appreciation of the prospect of settling Venezuelan difficulties by arbitration of President Roosevelt. If, however, the President is unwilling to act so far as Italy is concerned, no objection to submit claims to permanent court at The Hague, provided her claims receive the same treatment as the claims of other countries.

"*December 24.*— Send cable of 72 words to Secretary Hay on Italy and the Venezuela matter. Italy was joined with England and Germany in blockading with their naval forces the Venezuelan ports for not having satisfied their complaints."

Several passages in the diary for the opening weeks of the new year have to do with Castro and Venezuela and the satisfactory results of Meyer's dealings with the Italian Foreign Office on behalf of the State De-

partment at Washington. Later possibilities of international coöperation are suggested in the final entry:—

“*February 8, 1903.*—Cable Washington that Italy does not object to having claims settled through Mr. Bowen¹ at Washington, or, failing that, referring controversy to the permanent court at The Hague, on condition that the claim of Italy receives the same treatment as analogous claims of other Powers.”

The minor troubles of an ambassador are suggested by the first of the following notes upon passing experiences.

“*February 10.*—We give in Palazzo Brancaccio a large dinner for the Austrian and German Ambassadors and Bavarian Minister.

“In answer to a letter that I received from John Hay as to whether there was any truth in the rumour that any American citizen not received at the Quirinal was undesirable or would not be welcome at the public reception of the American Embassy, I was very glad to have an opportunity to deny it and to say that the question as to whether an American is received at the Quirinal or not is not considered or even thought of, except at the Ricevimento, when the Court supervises your list and erases all names of Italians who have not been presented at Court, sending two Masters of Ceremonies to introduce the guests.

“*February 14.*—‘Midsummer Night’s Dream’ given in the ball-room by a number of children under

¹Herbert W. Bowen, American Minister to Venezuela.

Sir Rennell and Lady Rodd, at 4.45. 'Bey'¹ takes the part of Bottom.

"H.M. the Queen of Italy arrived at 4.45 by the Garden. I went down the steps, followed by Mr. Iddings, the first Secretary of the Embassy. After saluting the Queen, I offered my arm, Mr. Iddings and the Countess di Trinità following. Alice received the Queen in the salon, and after a few words I escorted her into the ball-room to her seat.

"After the performance was over, I again escorted the Queen to the salon, where she received my girls and Mrs. Iddings, and I presented Mr. Leonard M. Thomas, the new second Secretary.

"The carriage being announced, I escorted H.M. to her carriage and she drove off through the Garden with the Countess di Trinità and Count di Trinità. The Palace and Garden were surrounded by gendarmes and detectives.

"*April 19.* — General Wood came and dined with us, and we had a long talk after dinner about Roosevelt's prospects of being nominated and elected; also what men he could trust in Washington.

"Wood told me that the White House was a great success in the work done by Charley McKim in the restoration.

"*April 27.* — The King of England arrived to-day. We took a room on Via Nazionale, with a balcony which held six people. Great preparations had been made to decorate this street from the station to the Quirinal Palace. In driving to join Alice and the

¹ Mr. Meyer's son.

children, I met the King and the House of Savoy going to the station to receive the King. H.R.H. the Count of Turin recognized me and saluted. The street was lined with troops on both sides. The two Kings drove in a carriage by themselves, the King of England sitting on the right, the mounted Life Guards preceding them. In the next carriage was the Duke of Aosta, the Comte de Turin, Duc d'Abruzzi, and the Duke of Genoa. They all recognized Alice and myself and saluted.

"The street was crowded and the decorations very effective, especially in Piazza di Termini; but there was very little enthusiasm. Surprised to see the King of England so fit and well.

"The Duke of Aosta came round and took a cup of tea with us at 5 o'clock.

"*April 28.* — Gala performance of the Opera at the Argentina, in honour of King Albert Edward VII of England. The five Ambassadors and seven Ambassadors sit in a large box next to the royal box. In royal box, King V. E. III of Italy, King Edward VII of England, Queen of Italy, Duke of Aosta, Count of Turin, Duke of Abruzzi, Duke of Genoa, and several ladies-in-waiting, Princess Teano, Duchess of Teranova, Countess Guicciardini, and Countess Bruschi, In the other boxes, of which there are five tiers, were the Diplomatic Corps, ladies of the Court, and the nobility of Rome. Among the most striking and beautiful were Princess Trabia, Countess Martini (*née* Ruspoli), Marquise de Bagno, Duchess of Sutherland, Miss Blight. Many people said Mrs. Cornelius



VIEW FROM BALCONY OF PALAZZO BRANCACCIO, SANTA
MARIA MAGGIORE IN THE DISTANCE

Vanderbilt had the most beautiful jewels and that the American Ambassadors (Alice) was the most stylish! The Opera was not especially good, but the ballet excellent; it had been imported from Milan and the costumes, Japanese, new and fresh. The *tout ensemble* of the house was very fine and brilliant. The performance ended at midnight and the confusion in getting carriages afterward was disgraceful. Ladies were obliged to walk into the streets in their low-neck dresses and slippers and find their carriages with their escorts.

“*May 2.* — The Kaiser of Germany, the German Crown Prince, and his brother arrive in Rome, the train over one hour late.

“Fortunately the rain held as they drove to the Palace from the station. In the first carriage the Kaiser and the King of Italy; second carriage, the Crown Prince, the Duke of Aosta, and Duc d’Abruzzi; third carriage, brother of Crown Prince, Count of Turin and the Duke of Genoa; fourth carriage, Count von Bülow, Chancellor of Germany, Zanardelli,¹ and Admiral Morin,² after that the suite of the Emperor in gorgeous uniforms. All the state carriages were used and the servants and outriders in red livery. It was a very fine sight.

“The French and Spanish Ambassadors and myself viewed the procession from a stand erected in front of the American Church with the three flags of our country draped over our heads. Alice, Helo, and

¹ Premier of the Italian Cabinet.

² Minister of Foreign Affairs.

the children were in a private balcony. The King of Italy as well as the Kaiser saluted Alice as they passed.

"H.R.H. the Duke of Aosta came to tea in the afternoon and brought us some photos of himself jumping his horses.

"*May 3.* — Attended American Church. After lunch went to Doria Palace to see the Kaiser leave the Prussian Legation for the Pope at the Vatican. We could see directly opposite, in the Odescalchi Palace, the Kaiser and Rampolla talking together, also the Crown Prince and his brother. The Kaiser drove off in an elaborate carriage which he had sent from Berlin, drawn by four horses with postilions and two footmen behind, all in gorgeous liveries, and the Kaiser himself in a splendid uniform followed by four or five carriages containing his suite. Rome has been much impressed by the style in which the Kaiser has done things, and he has increased his popularity. The King of England did things more simply and showed his age and effects of his illness. The suite brought by the Kaiser, all splendid, big men.

"*May 4.* — Audience with the Kaiser at 7.30. The Chiefs of Mission assembled at the Quirinal Palace at the appointed hour. It differed from the audience with the King of England inasmuch as the Kaiser gave a separate and private audience to each Ambassador. As Nelidow was ill, I was the fourth Ambassador received, Austria, Turkey, and France preceding me. When I entered the room after being presented by the German Ambassador, Comte de Monts,

the Kaiser shook hands and said, 'How do you do again!' I had met him several times at Kiel. We had a most delightful and cordial conversation, and in leaving he said that he hoped to see us again at Kiel.

"After the audience, left the Quirinal with Barrère and played bridge at the Farnese Palace until 11.30; then went to reception given by the Countess Somaglia for the Crown Prince of Germany and his brother. Was presented to both by the hostess. They are young and natural.

"*May 5.* — Kaiser goes to Monte Casino for the day. Gives 10,000 marks.

"Reception to the Kaiser at the Capitol was interesting and impressive, with all its historic surroundings and wonderful collections of art. The Diplomatic Corps and the ladies-in-waiting to the Queen with the gentlemen-in-waiting stood in the Sala, with its wonderful mural decoration, to receive the Kaiser with the King and Queen of Italy and their suites. They marched in state to the adjoining room, where a few ladies were presented to the Emperor of Germany; first Mme. Nelidow, the Russian Ambassadress, and then Alice. The Kaiser told my wife that he hoped we were coming to Kiel again this year. After that Madame Rudini, the three sisters of Prince Doria, Countess Gianotti, and Madame Ristori were presented. The Emperor, with the Queen of Italy on his arm, followed by the King with Princess Sonnino, the wife of Prospero Colonna, syndic, made the grand tour of the rooms.

"*May 6.* — Kaiser leaves Rome at 5.50. We had the same balcony on Via Nazionale, and the King of Italy and the Kaiser of Germany both looked up and saluted, and the Kaiser looked back a second time and waved to me. The Duke of Aosta and the Count of Turin also saluted."

From the account of several days in May spent in visiting Milan, Florence, and Venice, the following description of a picturesque spectacle may be taken: —

"*May 15.* — Reach Venice at 5.30 A.M. — lovely morning. Our gondolas are waiting for us and take us to the Grand Hotel — at 6 A.M. At 8.30 A.M. the King and Queen pass in their gondola, escorted by the old gondola beautifully painted, and with men in ancient costumes, the same as those used by the Doges. The King afterwards told me it was an ancient custom to give the King this splendid escort — a really beautiful sight. The King and Queen recognized us from the gondola, and bowed to our balcony. Met the King and Queen at the Art Exhibition, and the Queen came over and talked with Alice and the children while I talked with the King. This was at 3 P.M. The syndic sent me a box for the opera — gala performance. The house is really a gem, and only lighted by candles, most becoming. The royal box is very wide and handsome.

"*May 19.* — Since the departure of the special St. Louis Commissioner, I have been working hard to get the Italian Government to reconsider their adverse action as to taking part in the St. Louis Exhibition.

“To-day Admiral Morin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed me that at the meeting of the Cabinet they had voted to take part and appropriate 500,000 lire. He also thought that they would assign a naval vessel for the transportation.

“This was very satisfactory as Mr. — had given up the job.”

The remaining days of May and most of June were filled with occupations so similar in general character to those already described in passages taken from the journals that no useful purpose will be served by further detailed quotations from them. But before following Meyer to the Kiel yacht races at the end of June, when he sailed one day with the Kaiser on the Meteor, and noted a conversation of no small significance, it is worth while to take a single passage from the diary at Turin, on June 11. Many gaieties attending the races, with all the special opportunities for enjoying them which the cordial hospitality of the Duke and Duchess of Aosta afforded, were in progress.

In the midst of it all this note of ill omen is struck: “At the race course we hear that the King and Queen of Servia and all the household have been murdered. It seemed as though it must be the fourteenth instead of the twentieth century.” The arrangements for a ball two days later were cancelled; otherwise the round of pleasures went on, as if Europe were not already smouldering before the destined conflagration. In the Kaiser’s talk at Kiel there is some intimation of it.

The journals for the days in Kiel (June 25 – July 1) record Meyer's first meeting with the German Empress, — “very handsome, dignified and well dressed, but appears older than the Kaiser,” — the launching of a German man-of-war, a race on the American yacht Navahoe, a breakfast with the Emperor and Empress on the Royal Yacht Hohenzollern, and the following: —

“*June 30.* — Reach the Yacht Meteor at 7.09 A.M. The Emperor being behind me in his gig, I go to the port side and get on deck just before the Emperor comes alongside, sharp at 7.10 A.M. He shakes hands and greets all in turn in a hearty spirit. Fine morning, and everything promises for a splendid race. On board Prince Henry, Admirals von Tirpitz and Eisendecker, Mr. Armour, Professor — , and A.D.C.'s.

“As we start I go down into the saloon by invitation of Prince Henry while he eats his breakfast; however, get on deck in time to see us go through the American and German fleet. Admiral Cotton was on the stern of the Kearsarge to hail the Emperor, and the Emperor wished him a pleasant voyage and made a joke as he passed. All the ships, both American and German, cheered as we passed. As there were four American and sixteen German vessels, it was quite impressive.

“Made a good start, and began our race, manned entirely by German officers and sailors.

“Both the Emperor and Prince Henry were in great spirits, like two men off for a holiday. We told

stories, and I found them most appreciative of a good joke.

"During the morning the Emperor sat down beside me, and we had a long and interesting chat about various things and matters.

"He spoke of having been down to the Mediterranean while Queen Victoria (his Grandmother, he called her) was reigning, and Salisbury was Premier. He talked with the English Admiral, and asked what he should do in case of war, and if the French fleet should attack him. The Admiral replied, 'Run for Gibraltar.' Kaiser said that was not his idea. He said, 'You should make an alliance with Italy,' and told the Admiral, 'if you like, I will make a report on the Mediterranean situation to my Grandmother.'

"This, he told me, he did at great detail and trouble, and Salisbury practically paid no attention to it. 'The English,' he said, 'move so slowly. They should have had a complete scheme how to act, where to have their base, in case of trouble. As it was, nothing was planned. Italy was the nation England should have made a close alliance with.'

"The Emperor was very amusing about his visit at the Quirinal and the entertainment at the Capitol."

Meyer's summer of 1903 in America was like the others for which he had returned from Italy, in its blending of politics, business, and society. On one of its days, July 15, he wrote in his journal: "Sit up until one o'clock, talking with Lodge, giving him the result of my information obtained by my talking with

the business men, which he is to impart to the President next day." A few days later he visited Oyster Bay himself, and was gratified by the President's expressions of satisfaction with his work as Ambassador.

After rejoining his family in London at the end of September, many pleasures in London, Paris, and Turin intervened before reaching Rome less than a month later. At Paris, on October 13, on the eve of the arrival of the King and Queen of Italy for an official visit to President Loubet, he wrote in his diary: "Receive a telegram from Iddings that the Tsar has given up his trip to Rome. Nelidow, Russian Ambassador, suddenly advised his not coming, because nervous and seems to have lost his head." This matter formed the topic of some remarks from the King of Italy a few weeks later, when Meyer and his family were summoned from Pisa on November 5, to pass the next day with the King and Queen at the Château at San Rossore, hard by, where Meyer and the King were to have a "chasse." The diary records an interesting day.

"*November 6.* — The girls are much excited over our visit. All get up at seven in order to be at the Château at nine prompt, as the King is always on time. We reach San Rossore at 9 A.M., but the King and Queen are already standing outside the door with their auto and their attendants, General Corsini, and Calabrini, and Count Brambilla. After we salute and shake hands with the King and Queen, the King gets into the auto with me, the chauffeur and my daughter Alice behind; Alice and my daughter Julia in the auto

UNION OF
CALIFORNIA



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL III AND THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR—SAN ROSSORE, NOVEMBER, 1903

with the Queen. We fly around part of the park, which is very extensive (20,000 acres) and then go to the stables. The King, General Corsini, and myself get on our horses, Alice drives with the Queen in a two-wheel gig, and the girls in another by themselves. We proceed to make an excursion through the woods, which are quite dense and full of game. We drove all the way to the sea, seeing Leghorn in the distance, and at one time Pisa.

“We had no sooner got on our horses than the King remarked that my colleague (Nelidow, Russian Ambassador) had made a mess of it in advising the Tsar not to come to Rome (in consequence of which Nelidow was no longer *persona grata*), and he had asked to have him recalled, and that Prince Ouroussow, now Ambassador at Paris, had been appointed. The King really felt very strongly on the matter, as the Italian police and the Russian police had pronounced it safe. Nelidow lost his head and asked the Government to give a guaranty, and even went so far as to request that the King should give a personal guaranty. The King replied that he was not the préfet of the police, but that he would place himself between the Tsar and all danger. Nelidow announced that it was satisfactory, but a few days later he went to the Consulta and told the Minister of Foreign Affairs that he had advised his ruler not to come, as the guaranties were not sufficient. The King went on to show the difference between Russian and Italian methods, drawing attention to the fact that Italy was practically a free and constitutional country; said the

Tsar knew nothing about what was going on and did not even open his own letters. Zanardelli resigned on account of ill health, not because of the Tsar's action.

"We all lunched with the King and Queen, Alice on his right and Marchesa Calabrini on his left. I was on the right of the Queen and General Vaglia on her left. The others at table were General Corsini, General Brusati, on Alice's left Comte di Brambilla, on my right my daughters Julia and Alice, Marquis Calabrini, Count Tozzoni, and two other gentlemen-in-waiting.

"There were as many servants in scarlet livery as there were guests, and I noticed between the courses they all went out of the room, which made conversation much easier than if a servant was standing behind every chair. The conversation became quite general, the Queen chaffing the King about getting up at 6.30, singing and waking every one else up. It was carried on chiefly in French. After lunch the Queen took photographs of the different groups. The electric auto was brought out, the King and Queen taking turns in running and giving us a ride. Then General Corsini showed the stallions, which I could see bored the King and Queen. At 2.30 we went to the wood and had a pheasant drive. My stand was next to the King. It was very agreeable shooting. We were only allowed to kill the male birds.

"After that we took the auto, going to the beach to have afternoon tea; and the two princesses were brought out, Yolande and Mafalda, very cunning and

healthy. The King took me into his *châlet* to study maps. It is very simply furnished, and they live in it quite alone without any of the Court.

“At five o'clock we took our leave in the automobile. The King and Queen wrote in Julia's autograph book.”

International and personal affairs are touched upon in the journal for the rest of 1903, from which a few of the more interesting passages are the following:—

“*November 24.*—Call on Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has just returned from London. Talk with him about recognizing the new Republic of Panama, which Italy is quite prepared to do, and expressed themselves quite in sympathy with the President's action and in no way opposed, realizing the benefit the world's commerce would receive; merely waiting to act in conjunction with England and France.

“*November 30.*—Go to the hunt and ride my horse, Ruby. After 15 minutes the whip gives the hallo, ‘Tally-ho, hark-away!’ and one of the best runs that I have ever seen gives promise by every indication. The fox makes a straight line towards Albano, with the hounds well bunched and lining out; Ludovico Lante put his horse at a *staccionata* of three bars, and I followed him, which gave us a lead of the field and we were soon up with the hounds, going over hill and dale, taking stone walls and *staccionate* as they came. We had run for about half an hour when we came to a very stiff post and rail (*stac-*

cionata) which I put my horse Ruby at, as in two years he had never touched a thing, when, with a rap on the top bars, we both turned a somersault, landing on our heads, the horse falling across my chest and stomach and pinning me to the ground. He tried to roll over me, but although almost knocked out, I put up the one knee that was free and he, feeling resistance, rolled the other way, getting up and leaving me flat on my back on the wet ground. I was unable to move for minutes, the wind having been knocked out of me. Count Fraseo fortunately came up, put my hat under my head and unbuttoned my coat and vest. After ten minutes I was able to get up, stiff and thoroughly shaken by the fall. Captain Bodrero came along with a groom on Monteondi's horse; the groom dismounted, and with some difficulty I was able to get on the horse and have him lead him to the meet, where, after a glass of brandy, I got into my carriage and went back to Palazzo Brancaccio and got to bed so stiff that I could hardly move, thoroughly wet and chilled, as it was a heavy rainstorm.

"Doctor Montichiari came round and examined me; nothing broken, only stiff and bruised.

"*December 13.* — William Jennings Bryan, Democratic candidate for President against William McKinley, called this morning with his son and Mr. Curtis, correspondent of the Associated Press. Bryan looks well and has grown fat. He has an audience with the Pope at 3 o'clock, and he is coming to lunch. I told him that, had he let me know that he was coming, I could have arranged an audience for him with

the King; but as he is leaving to-night it would be impossible. He said, 'Could not I call on him (the King) to-night?'

Before the end of the year premonitory rumblings of war between Russia and Japan began to be heard. On December 26 Meyer found himself, with the French and Austrian Ambassadors, dining at the German Embassy, and wrote in his journal: "Surprised to find that their personal and private sympathy seemed to be with Japan if war should come with Russia." Early in the new year, 1904, there are constant references to the subject — as in the note of January 18: "Cable Hay that the Russian Ambassador had told the Minister of Foreign Affairs that he did not consider the questions between Russia and Japan matters of arbitration or mediation." The impending struggle could not be ignored even on a day such as that of which the record follows.

"*January 4, 1904.* — Hunting with the King and Queen.

"Was at the Palazzo Reale at 8 o'clock sharp, with my auto, as was Prince Sonnino with his. At eight sharp we start, General Euriglio Ponzio Vaglia with me — second aide-de-camp; the King and Queen and Duchess d'Ascoli in another; Calabrini with Prospero Colonna, and the rest in the King's second auto, which General Brusati had in charge. We reached Castel Porziano in an hour, and immediately went to our stands, the King and Queen in one, I in the next, and Colonna adjoining. We were the only ones that got

anything; the King killed five boars and six deer, and I got three very large boars, and Colonna two. After the shoot the King got into my auto with me and we went to the beach on the Mediterranean. I had a walk, talking about the prospects of war between Russia and Japan. At 12.30 we had lunch in a little house on the beach. Everything was placed on the table, the hot dishes in casseroles which had been brought from Rome. The King sat at the head of the table, the Queen on his left and I on his right, Prospero Colonna on my right, and Duchess d'Ascoli on the Queen's left. No servants in the way, and we helped ourselves. The Queen said she liked it better thus, more like a picnic. Very informal and bright and gay. The Queen and Duchess d'Ascoli returned with me to Rome in my automobile."

A few typical entries for ensuing days are the following:—

"*January 11.*—King and Queen opened the exhibition of the American Academy. They came promptly at 10 A.M., accompanied by General Brusati, Duke and Duchess d'Ascoli. Prince Sonnino and Signor Tittoni also attended.

"The King and Queen were received by Mr. Mowbray,¹ myself, and Alice at the door, and escorted to the exhibition. They were much interested and stayed about an hour. Part of the time I escorted the King, and later the Queen. It has given a great boom to the Academy, and is the third time that such a thing

¹ H. Siddons Mowbray, of the American Academy.



GROUP AT A BOAR SHOOT WITH THE KING AND QUEEN OF ITALY, CASTEL PORZIANO

From left to right: Marchese Brambilla, Duchess d'Ascoli, Mr. Meyer, Prince Corsini, the Queen of Italy, the King of Italy, Duke d'Ascoli, Prince di Sonnino, General Brusati, Marchese Calabrin.



has happened in Italy. The heads of the other academies all attended.

“Very successful dinner in the evening, given by Mowbray, at which was present the Italian Ambassador at Washington, Mayor des Planches.

“*February 1.* — Call for H.R.H. the Duchess of Aosta at the Royal Palace at 10.30, in my automobile, to take her to the meet at ‘La Pisano.’ Looked very stormy, but stopped raining at 11 o’clock. She rode my horse, Vieux Marcheur. All the officers of the Tor di Quinto were presented. Photographers very busy with their machines. The attendance light on account of the weather. The Duchess jumped a post rail in great form, which I had already taken. We had a short run of 30 minutes and at half-past three we went back in my auto and arrived at the Royal Palace at 4.15. She looked beautifully on horseback.

“Alice and I in the evening went to a ball in the Venetia Palace given by Austrian Ambassador ¹ to the Pope.

“*February 6.* — Diplomatic relations with Russia broken off by Japan. Japan has been very patient and Russia has been giving evasive answers, and to Japan’s last inquiry has put her off for three weeks. All the meantime she has been sending forward troops and ammunition, which made it evident she was playing for time. Japan felt she must strike now or never.

“Russia very much surprised, thought she could [go] on with her game of procrastination.

¹ Count Szécsen.

“Sympathy here with Japan.

“*February 8.* — Japanese attack Port Arthur, evidently take the Russians by surprise and torpedo three of their best battle-ships. This is of the greatest importance, as it gives them a tremendous advantage on the seas and will enable them to transport troops safely to Korea.”

On February 9 Mr. and Mrs. Meyer left Rome for Berlin, in answer to an invitation from the American Ambassador, Mr. Charlemagne Tower, to meet the Kaiser at dinner. “I had a long talk with him after dinner,” Mr. Meyer wrote (February 11) in his diary, “about the Russian and Japanese war — most interesting, his view,” of which more details are given in a later entry. Within the next few days the Meyers saw something of the more sumptuous aspects of German life, through attending two Court Balls, described in the following notes: —

“*February 12.* — We called for the Towers at 8 p.m., and they took us to the Royal Palace with an outrider on horseback. The White Room with the throne, where the ball was held, has been done over by the Emperor — very handsome — gold ceiling. Only Ambassadors and their wives and the most important of the German Court [were there].

“We had supper in the Emperor’s room, and I sat at Chancellor von Bülow’s table, and took in Madame (Gräfin) Warlinsleben. Alice was in the same room, at the Princess Feodora’s table, and Admiral von Senden-Bibran took her in to supper. The

room was hung with pictures of all the Empresses. In all 800 people sat down to supper at small tables.

“The ball was beautiful — every one in uniforms of the richest colours. Before the dancing¹ commenced, the Emperor talked with the Ambassadors, and then with the Ambassadors. He talked so long with Tower and myself that the papers mentioned it the next morning. I danced with the Princess Daisy von Pless, and the Emperor complimented me on my dancing. I had another opportunity to have a long talk with him, standing beside the throne, and told him of the intention of the Eastern Yacht Club to offer a prize for German and American yachts. He asked me to write it out. The ball was finished by a very pretty figure at 1 A.M., when every one dancing came forward at the same moment, bowed and curtsied to the Emperor. Just before the ball ended, the Emperor came and stood beside Alice and talked to her.

“*February 16.* — Go to our second Court Ball — twice as many people there this time, and the entire Corps Diplomatique; also the Princess Fürstenberg and the Princess Fürstenberg von Fürstenberg — both very handsome women, with beautiful jewels — rather rare at the German Court. Unfortunately the Empress could not come on account of her health, or Prince and Princess Henry an account of their child.

¹In a letter to her children about this ball, Mrs. Meyer wrote as follows of some of the dancing: “The quadrilles and minuets, led by the Crown Prince, were beautifully and solemnly danced. When the Kaiser came to his seat during the evening, I took pleasure in saying what enjoyment it was to witness those courtly dances. He said he had them learned for the deportment of the rising generation—not for pleasure, but for serious duty.”

“The Emperor talked a long time with the Russian Ambassador¹ at the other end of the room, which delayed the dancing. The Russian Ambassador left the ball with his suite as soon as the Emperor stopped talking with him. The Japanese Legation stayed. The music started as soon as the old Russian Ambassador had left. Later in the evening the Emperor came and shook hands with Mrs. Tower, and then nodded for me to come forward, shaking hands and keeping me beside him. He then commenced to relate a good deal of his conversation with the Russian Ambassador, who, he said, was uncertain as to the wisdom of accepting Hay’s proposition of the countries that signed the Peking protocol to agree to the neutrality of China. The Emperor told the Ambassador to wire the Tsar and say that he, the Emperor, thought it most important for Russia. The Emperor then went on to say that he had advices that Japan was urging China on through certain channels; Russia had not yet waked up to the present Oriental power.

“His Majesty also seemed very much pleased with the President’s message — congratulations on his initiative in the neutrality of China.

“Later I waltzed with Princess Daisy von Pless at the Emperor’s suggestion, and he told me that he had never seen a civilian dance so well. (In Germany they think only Army men can do anything.) ”

A series of miscellaneous passages from the diary may speak for some of Mr. Meyer’s chief con-

¹ Count Osten-Sacken.

cerns during the months following the visit to Berlin.

“ February 26. — General Ricciotti Garibaldi, the son of the great Garibaldi, called upon me, and stated that he had been with Saranoff while the latter was in Italy, and that he had said that it would be a gratification to the Macedonians if the United States would act as arbitrator in the matters between Turkey and Macedonia. I replied that, as he had come officially I could only hear what he might have to say without giving [formal] expression to his wishes. As a matter of information, I then inquired if all the parties in interest to the treaty of Berlin were in accord with him on the matter. His reply was that England, France, Italy, and even Russia would accept, but not Germany or Austria. When I suggested that arbitration would be out of the question unless all powers agreed to it, the point was avoided by his referring to our government’s action as to Chinese neutrality and limiting the sphere of war between Japan and Russia.

“ March 3. — The Chinese Minister, Hsu Keoh, called on me to-day to express his gratification at the exercise of the good offices of the Government at Washington in connection with maintaining the neutrality of China, and to say that he hoped our friendship would continue after.

“ March 24. — At 10 o’clock receive a telegram from Hofmarshal von Lyncker to come and dine with the Emperor at 8 o’clock Friday, on board the Hohenzollern in Naples.

“*March 25.*—Take the 8.10 train for Naples and arrive at 1.35. Go straight to the Hotel Vesuve.

“An A.D.C. called to say that we should wear black ties at dinner. At 7.45 I found the launch waiting for me at the arsenal. Hofmarshal von Lyncker was waiting at the head of the gang-way, and von Chelius escorted me to the Emperor, who was talking with Monsignor King, the head of the Monte Casino Monastery. At 8 o'clock sharp we went in to dinner and I sat on the right of the Emperor and King on his left. I gave Alice's message to H.M. about the beautiful Berlin balls, and later he said, ‘I want to send to your wife some of these magnificent Neapolitan pinks which are on the table,’ and later in the evening he remembered to do it. The Emperor seemed in splendid health again and his voice as strong as ever. We had quite a talk about the war, the growth of Berlin, and the deceptive policy of Russian diplomacy. No one sat down after dinner, but I have got used to that.

“Among those at dinner: Prince Fürstenberg, General von Plessen, and von Grüner.

“*March 27.*—Leave Naples in auto (Hotel Vesuve) at 8.30 A.M. Arrive at Monte Casino at 12, having taken eighteen minutes to ascend the hill into the Monastery. Monsignor King had invited me as we were leaving the Hohenzollern. My card being taken up, we were escorted to the Cathedral and led up to the choir, where the Prior came out and invited me to stay to breakfast and informed me that Mon-

signor King would be out shortly, as soon as Mass was over.

"The breakfast was most interesting, as the monks were seated around the room with the chairs backed up to the wall and the table in front. One sees every one in the room at a glance. A prayer was chanted before we began to eat, and did not finish until a bell was rung. Then we began to eat and talk. The same thing happened at the end of the meal except that we stood up. Passed three hours in the Monastery. Left at 3 P.M.; arrive in Rome at 8 P.M.

"*April 20.* — Have an audience with the King, in order to present him with the new rifle of our army and with the compliments of President Roosevelt. His Majesty found the rifle too heavy, short in the stock, and a poor style of bayonet, which he said was also the fault of the Italian army rifle. He was much interested in the work which was to begin on the Panama Canal, and wanted to know if the plans were to be changed materially; asked what was to be done about Hayti, and said a few of our troops there would settle the country. Complained of the actions of the Venezuela Government and their treatment of Bowen; also called to my attention that Indians in our country were now increasing.

"*April 24.* — President Loubet arrived.

"Saw the entrance into Rome, which was very well done, in beautiful carriages even better turned out than when the Emperor arrived. The suite of Loubet, however, is not to be compared with the Emperor's.

"I was surprised however to find what a small man the French President is, not as tall as the King of Italy.

"Quite a representative body at the American Church: English Ambassador¹ and Lady Feodore Bertie, the Japanese Minister, some Russians, the Serbian Minister, the Austrian Ambassador to the Pope, and his wife, Count and Countess Somssich.

"*May 21.* — The French Ambassador to the Vatican, Nisard, was recalled on account of the protest of the Vatican to the French Government and the Roman Catholic powers upon Loubet's (the French President's) visit to the King of Italy in Rome. Merry del Val, the Secretary of the Vatican, is blamed.

"*May 25.* — Had an audience with the King of Italy which lasted three-quarters of an hour. He talked very interestingly about the Japanese and Russian War. Spoke of the corruption in Russia and the wonderful progress of the Japs and their organization. Public sentiment and publicity were a great safeguard to public morale in England, America, and Italy. No such publicity existed in Russia, consequently corruption was concealed and the country suffered thereby. Expected to see Russian army annihilated."

The Republican National Convention of 1904, at which Theodore Roosevelt was renominated for the presidency, brought Mr. Meyer, still the Massachu-

¹ Sir Francis Bertie, afterwards Lord Bertie, British Ambassador to France during the war.

setts member of the Republican National Committee, to America earlier than in the previous summers of his term abroad. The second half of June was crowded with political and other engagements; in July there was escape from pressure in salmon-fishing at the Restigouche Club in Canada; in August at Newport, in the midst of many pleasures, he was making arrangements with his brother-in-law, Charles F. McKim, and Mr. Walter Mowbray for the purchase of the Villa Mirafiori on behalf of the American Academy in Rome. Altogether it was a busy and profitable summer, of which the chiefs events are related with some detail in the diary.

"*June 14.* — Arrive at quarantine at 7.30. Governor Odell takes me in the government tug up to 23d Street, and I arrive at the Knickerbocker Club at 9 P.M. Dine with Bob Bacon, Whitney Warren, and Winty Chanler at Martin's.

"Decide to take the '20th Century' express next day for Chicago.

"*June 15.* — Lunch at Sherry's with Winty Chanler, Whitney Warren, Bordie Harriman, L. Beeckman, and Charley Wetmore.

"Take the 2.45 'Century' for Chicago. On the train Charley Dawes and John Barrett, Minister to Panama. Dawes tells me that they want me to go on the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

"*June 16.* — Reach Chicago at 9.45 A.M. Leave my luggage at the Auditorium and go direct to the meeting of the Republican National Committee in the

Coliseum. Payne was presiding. Consider the contested question of Louisiana and Mississippi.

"Dine in the evening with Governor Herrick of Ohio, Governor Murphy, and Mr. George Peck. After dinner go to the theatre, to see the 'Wizard of Oz.' In the play there is a very amusing song called 'Sammy' which is always sung to some one in a box. This time it was Governor Herrick, which amused the audience.

"*June 17.* — We heard the Wisconsin case at 10 o'clock and listened to the evidence until 6 P.M. The evidence was very much in favour of Senator Spooner, and we unanimously threw out the Governor La Follette delegation and seated the Spooner delegation.

"Called up the White House on the long distance, and talked with the President about the opposition to Cortelyou, advised Bliss coming on as soon as possible.

"*June 18.* — Heard New York and Ohio cases before the Committee.

"Dined with Nicholas Murray Butler and Elihu Root, who is to be temporary chairman and make the opening speech.

"Got a long telegram from the President: 'Please wire me in full about opposition to Cortelyou. People may as well understand that if I am to run for President Cortelyou is to be chairman of the National Committee. I will not have it any other way. Please give me names of people opposed to him, and you are welcome to tell each of them what I have said. The choice of Cortelyou is irrevocable, and I will not consider any other man for the position, and shall treat

opposition to him as simply disguised opposition to the Republican party. In other words I regard opposition or disloyalty to Mr. Cortelyou as being simply an expression of disloyalty to the Republican party, precisely as the same would have been true of Mr. Hanna four years ago. — THEODORE ROOSEVELT.'

"*June 19.* — Mr. Kohlsaatt gives a lunch at the Saddle and Cycle Club on the lake, a charming place — Mr. Root, Butler, General and Mrs. Grant, Mr. Smith, former postmaster [general], Governor and Mrs. Herrick of Ohio, Chauncey Depew, and Walter Wellman. There were many good stories told about President Roosevelt.

"Held an important meeting about Cortelyou — 5.30.

"*June 20.* — Yesterday afternoon the Massachusetts delegation arrived, headed by Senator Lodge; ex-Governor Crane, ex-Governor Long, Collector Lyman, Bob Bacon, and others.

"I distributed the tickets for the Convention to the delegation.

"Go to the station and meet Mr. Bliss, Treasurer of the Finance Committee, and post him as to the opposition to Cortelyou for chairman, and ask him to remain absolutely firm as to the choice of Cortelyou.

"*June 21.* — Convention called at 12 o'clock. Secretary Root, the temporary chairman, makes a remarkably eloquent and powerful speech which is received with satisfaction and also admiration.

"Go to a dinner of about 70 people at the Grand Pacific, given by Tom Walsh of Colorado to his dele-

gation. The table was the shape of a star, with a Governor at each end. On the right of the host was Speaker Cannon, and on his left myself. The dinner was much delayed, and we only sat down at 9 P.M. Cannon speech excellent, the others very dull.

“*June 22.* — Second day of the Convention. Speaker Cannon, permanent chairman, makes a speech of one hour and a half. Very little excitement, as everything is cut and dried and no opposition whatever to Roosevelt.

“Senator Lodge reads the platform — which is well received. Tariff plan satisfactory. Reciprocity not very liberal form.

“*June 23.* — Reach Washington at 5.30 and go straight to the Metropolitan Club; find a telegram from President Roosevelt, asking me to dine at 8 P.M.

“Take a ride in the electric car with Dick Peters — into the country. At dinner in the White House was Mrs. Roosevelt and the President, Miss Alice, Paul Morton, the new Secretary of the Navy, and Miss Carow, sister of Mrs. Roosevelt. Dinner very pleasant. The President was most interested in everything that took place at Chicago, specially about the opposition which had started and which we overcame, I told him, on account of his firm and decided telegram that he sent me.

“Left at 10.30. He then asked me to come round to lunch the next day.

“*June 24.* — Call on John Hay, Secretary of State; found him looking much older, but in better

health and spirits. Found the Secretary of War, Governor Taft, in his office, in great form.

“Lunch with the President in the White House at 1.30 — Secretary Moody, young Garfield, Gus Jay, Miss Alice Roosevelt, and myself.

“After lunch the President took me into an adjoining room and said that he intended in March to make me a Cabinet officer, or, if this should not work out, to give me another ambassadorship. He said, ‘I do not want you to consider this a promise, because a change in the slate often makes an appointment impossible; but that is my present intention and wish.’ He added, ‘I am very much pleased in the way that you have represented the country.’

“*June 28.* — The Class of 1879 (Harvard) lunch in the Harvard Union given by Henry Higginson. We sit down a little over 100.

“There was a lunch in the room below, of the Harvard Law School Association, at which Taft and Olney spoke.

“Our class visit the Stadium ¹ and have their photograph taken.

“Dine in the evening at the Country Club; it was our 25th anniversary of graduation. I was called upon to speak, and received several compliments for my speech from several classmates. Many shocked me by looking so old.

“*June 29.* — Commencement Day at Cambridge. I. T. Burr, Chief Marshal; Templeman Coolidge and myself marched in the procession on each side of him.

¹ Given to the University by the Class of 1879.

President Eliot and Bishop Lawrence behind us, and next in line, Governor Bates.

"At dinner Bishop Lawrence made an effective speech on the needs of the University and the thirty-year service of President Eliot. Mr. Eliot responded in an exceptionally well-worded address, and then was followed by Cabot Lodge, who expressed himself in a very statesmanlike manner.

"In the evening we had a dinner at the Somerset Club of 123 '79 men. . . . The dinner was a great success. We had a piano and an accompanist and some excellent songs, especially by Nat Brigham and George Sheldon. The sad part is that we all will never be together again.

"*July 14.* — Talk with Ex-Governor Murray Crane about the Finance Committee [of National Republican Committee] over the long-distance telephone to New York.

"*July 15.* — Robert Bacon, J. J. Storrow, and E. Draper consent to act on the Committee, with Murray Crane and myself.

"*July 25.* — Received a cablegram this morning from the Emperor of Germany, dated Trondhjem, Norway, Royal Yacht Hohenzollern: 'Your wife and children lunched with me to-day on board Hohenzollern, all well. (Signed) WILLIAM I. R.'

"I answered as follows: 'Permit me to thank Your Majesty for cable and kindness to my family, which is much appreciated. VON Lengerke Meyer.'"

A letter from Mrs. Meyer, from the German ship Meteor, on which she was visiting the Norwegian

coast with her children, gives a characteristic glimpse of the Kaiser on a summer cruise in Norway just ten years before the momentous July of 1914, when he was similarly employed:—

July 24, 1904.

This morning at quarter before eight we came into the Trondhjem Harbour and there passed the Hohenzollern, the Emperor's yacht.

Every one was on deck to see all they could, as the night before the Captain had put up a notice saying the time we should probably get into harbour. The girls had on their red coats, and we got a good position and saw His Majesty saluting.

It is customary to send over the list of passengers to the Emperor, and launches were steaming back and forth all the morning. Orders came for the eight cadets and their lieutenant to go to the Royal Yacht for prayers, and it was amusing on deck to see the lieutenant drill the lads, and look them over, to see if they were all clean and presentable. The head steward appeared on deck to tell me that the purser had a message for me. I went down and found a messenger from His Majesty who told me that I was expected to lunch on board the yacht at one o'clock, and also all the children. You can imagine that in our small cabins confusion and excitement reigned. What to wear? was the cry, for our trunks held but little that was fit for royal criticism. Fortunately the girls had some nice white flannel suits. At a little before one the launch was ready, and we started over, accompanied by the German doctor from Bonn, who was also invited. The deck of the Meteor was well covered with the passengers to see us off, and I overheard one woman exclaim with shocked surprise at my dress, "What, without a train!"

On arriving at the yacht, we were ushered up the com-

panionway to an inner hall where we left our furs, and the master of ceremonies, Captain Grumm, took us out on the deck and presented several of the gentlemen. Almost immediately the Kaiser appeared, laughing and calling to us, "Where did you come from?" in a most informal manner. The Emperor shook us all cordially by the hand, with a most friendly grip, and we all walked in to lunch.

The Emperor was dressed in undress yachting suit. He looked remarkably well and was in wonderful spirits. There were twenty-two at the table. On His Majesty's right, I sat; on his left the Consul from Trondhjem; Prince Albert¹ opposite the Kaiser, and on either side Julia and Alice. Many of the gentlemen who were on the yacht I had already met in Berlin, at the balls last winter: Admiral von Seiden, also Captain Grumm, and Count von Smithers.

Lunch was very jolly — Prince Albert full of jokes, and the Emperor teased him, calling across the table constantly to him. The Emperor spoke of Kiel and inquired how and where you were. He also spoke of automobiles and considered them most injurious for the nerves.

Lunch was quickly served by men in sailors' suits. I noticed the Emperor drank from silver mugs which stood in a line, varying in sizes. He told me the only healthy diet was fish, much fruit, and but little drink.

After lunch we went on deck, our furs were brought us, and the Emperor told me that his orchestra should play all American airs for our benefit. The music was of the best, and we enjoyed the concert immensely, which lasted over an hour.

It was bitterly cold, and the gentlemen who were on the yacht told me they hoped daily the Emperor would give orders to move South. The Emperor at every new tune asked me the name, and I had to confess that for some, although Ameri-

¹ Of Schleswig-Holstein.

can, I was ignorant of their names. He said he should cable you that I was a poor American and did not know my American tunes. The Emperor told us a very good story on our national tune. In Kiel he said there was a divided opinion which of the eight tunes should be national, so that it was decided for the morning that the band on the American man-of-war should play "The Star Spangled Banner," and in the evening "Hail, Columbia!" The Kaiser enjoyed that arrangement and laughed heartily over it. Boats came from shore to hear the music, which was delightful, and the Emperor appreciated my remark when I said that the band on the Meteor would be most painful to listen to, after this music. At the close the Kaiser ordered the *old* German national air, standing near the orchestra, and leading himself. He then asked us if we would see the yacht, which is a beautiful one in every detail without being over grand.

The Emperor showed us himself the Empress' suite, a charming salon, furnished in chintz, and a grand piano.

The Emperor's private room was lined with photos, and a charming group of the Princes and the little Princess, of whom the Emperor spoke with affection and admiration. At the gangway His Majesty said he regretted he had nothing more to show us, and we, thanking His Majesty for his extreme kindness, curtsied to take our leave. The Emperor shook hands again and honoured me by kissing my hand.

Captain Grumm gave the girls and boys each a box, with Hohenzollern souvenirs, and we went down the gangway to the launch, the Emperor standing on the landing until we pushed off.

This is indeed a day to be remembered by us all. As the Emperor had advised us to see the Cathedral at Trondhjem, we went ashore and found it most interesting. In such a far-away place it is strange to find such architecture — partly Roman, and partly Gothic.

At seven o'clock we sailed out of the harbour, passing quite close to the Hohenzollern, and again seeing the Emperor, who was saluting the crowd.

Of other royal personages in whom Meyer had good reason to be interested, there are the following notes in his diary.

"*August 12.* — The Tsarina of Russia gives birth to an heir to the throne of Russia. The Tsar announces that he is more pleased than if it had been a Russian victory over the Japanese. There are four daughters alive, and one or two in addition died prematurely. I believe all the world is glad for the Tsarina, for the reason that if the last had been a girl, I believe there would possibly have been a demand for the Tsar to take another wife in order to obtain an heir.

"I hope the Queen of Italy may have a son also this next September.

"*September 16.* — Alice cables that the Queen of Italy has given birth to an heir, to be called the Prince of Piedmont. Very politic not to call him Prince of Rome, as it would have only embittered the Vatican at this time when they and the House of Savoy seem to be coming nearer together. This event is very important to the dynasty. Of course it is hard on the Duke of Aosta, of whom I am very fond.

"I cable General Brusati, A.D.C., at Racconigi, to express my felicitations, etc., to the King."

When Meyer sailed for Europe about two weeks later he had received the President's assurances of high satisfaction with his work in Italy and on the Republi-

can National Committee, together with the promise — as the diary has shown — of a place in the Cabinet, perhaps to be preceded by another ambassadorship than the Italian. Throughout the autumn there were many rumours that he would be sent to Berlin or Paris — either of which posts would have appealed to him more strongly than St. Petersburg before he fully realized what the appointment to Russia would mean. This was to be made clear through correspondence, from which, as from his diary for the remaining months in Italy, some representative passages will be drawn. Frequent jottings in his journal reveal his close attention to the progress of the war in the East. There are longer entries illustrating the close relations of friendship he had formed in Italy. Two such passages have to do with a visit to the Duke of Aosta in Turin on his way from Paris to Rome.

“October 15. — Arrive in Turin at 2.25 P.M. Find the Duke’s A.D.C. waiting for me, with the carriage, to drive me to the Palazzo Cisterna. I am escorted immediately to the Duke’s private room and received without any formal ceremony, as I have been there so often. The Duchess comes in, in a few moments, and is most cordial.

“Aosta suggests that I go riding with him at 4 o’clock, which is most agreeable after the long journey from Paris. We return at 6.30 after a delightful ride in the country accompanied by two A.D.C.’s. and two detectives on bicycles.

“On returning we have a cup of tea with the Duchess in her private salon, and I am presented to

the Comtesse de Paris (her mother), and meet again the Princess Louise. The Comtesse de Paris dresses very simply but with dignity. . . .

"We all dine at 8 P.M. — no one except the gentleman-in-waiting of the Comtesse de Paris. After dinner we go to the opera, the Duchess, the Princess Louise and myself in one carriage; Baron and Baroness di San Martino, in waiting to the Duchess, and the gentleman-in-waiting to Princess Louise in the second carriage. We sat in the royal box and the opera was the first performance of *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, not very good. . . . It was in the theatre which Vittorio Emmanuele II used for a circus.

"We got back about midnight and had some 'grog' in H.R.H. the Duchess' private salon, where the Duke joined us, he having been studying an oration that he had to make next day. On retiring the Duchess invited me to ride horseback with her Sunday at 8.30 A.M.

"*October 16.* — At 8.30 I was in the courtyard of the Palace where the horses were already standing, two greys, and a bay for the groom. In about five minutes the Duke and Duchess of Aosta walked in, having attended mass together. In less than five minutes she was down again, all dressed for the saddle. It was a beautiful morning, a slight mist which the sun was rapidly driving away, which gave a sort of Corot effect to the fields and trees. We went straight across the country, fording streams and jumping ditches and having long canters down some of the alleys of Stupinigi, where the Queen Mother was com-

ing later, and in which palace we had breakfast just a year ago. The Duchess was in great spirits and most charming. She said she envied me and my family travelling so much, and that now that her husband was no longer heir presumptive, she hoped that they would travel about more, adding that it was a delicate matter before, as it would look as though they were trying to give themselves special prominence. This was the only reference made to the Prince of Piedmont, born to the Queen a month ago.

"We never got back until nearly 11.30, after a charming ride. It is such a pleasure to see her in the saddle and handling her horse — so graceful and such wonderful hands with a horse.

"After a delicious bath in a bath-room, up to date with porcelain tub, we had breakfast at 12.30, no one present except the family and the two young princes (sons of the Duke of Aosta) about four and a half and six years. The King has given them each a title, one of the Duke di Spoleto, the other the Duke degli Puglie.

"After lunch Aosta had the coach round and we drove off into the country—H.R.H. the Countess of Paris on the box; behind them the Princess Louise, Duchess of Aosta, and myself, on the back seat, the di San Martinos, who are in waiting, and Captain R., A.D.C. We drove almost to the mountains and then went to the Medici Palace, which formerly belonged to Victor Emmanuel II. There we had tea. As I was taking the train at 8 o'clock for Rome, a special dinner was served me at 7 P.M. The Duke

and Duchess came and sat with me while I was at dinner, the Duchess remarking that they came to be sure I got something to eat.

"I never received more charming hospitality. I was sent to the station in a Royal carriage with Captain R., the A.D.C."

Returned to Rome, where his family awaited him, Meyer went on with his journal:—

"*October 18.*—I wrote the State Department that Parliament was dissolved to-day. The decree fixes November 6 for the General Election, and November 13 for those candidates who did not receive the prescribed two-thirds vote required for election.

"It is thought that the Socialists organized strikes and demonstrations the morning after the birth of the heir to the throne, hoping there would be bloodshed in order to make the birth of the Prince a day of misfortune. Giolitti had the troops out, but they were ordered not to use their arms. In Milan, Venice, and Genoa the strikes were severe, but no bloodshed. It was in a way a rehearsal also by the Socialists to test their organization and power. It has, however, disgusted the people as a whole and caused a reaction against the Socialists. It was rather clever to dissolve Parliament and have an election while these disturbances are still in mind.

"*November 4.*—The Tsar has decorated, and raised the rank of, the Russian Admiral who fired on the English fishing fleet. He believes the Russian statement that there were Japanese torpedo-boats

MAILED
JUN 13 1893

A. J. S. Morrissey Vol.
Aug 15th 1893.



~~Helene de France
Duchesse d'Aoste.~~

Guglielmi & Rossi

Turin
Milano Corso Vitt. Em. 13
June 1903

THE DUCHESS OF AOSTA

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among the fishing boats. The Russians are demoralized and frightened to death of the Japanese torpedo-boats. The general opinion seems to be that the Russians fired on their own boats!

"*November 9.* — At 8 o'clock this morning received the following cable from Mr. Bliss, Treasurer of the National Republican Committee: 'Probable plurality of Roosevelt in New York State 200,000; Higgins, Governor, 75,000. Electoral vote over 300. 'BLISS.'

"Wired at once the following:

"'President Roosevelt, Washington: — The election shows the people appreciate your administration; also splendid about New York State; hearty congratulations. GEORGE MEYER.'

"On account of difference in time, the President would receive my cable at the same hour at which I received the above.

"*November 10.* — It appears that Roosevelt has carried every doubtful state and has an electoral vote of 317. Pennsylvania goes Republican by 300,000, and New York by 200,000 — the pluralities being greater than those of McKinley, and Parker has fallen behind Roosevelt [Bryan?].

"The most astounding thing is that in this Republican landslide Massachusetts has elected a Democratic Governor, Douglas by name, a shoe-manufacturer known as the '\$3.00 shoe man.' I await the papers with great interest, to analyse the vote and to learn the causes.

"C. F. McKim cables that the American Academy

accepts the offer, and will purchase the Villa Mirafiore.

“November 14. — Received letters from State Department, dated 20th and 24th October; the former, invitation of the President to nations for a second Peace Conference at The Hague; the latter inviting a Treaty of Arbitration with Italy on same lines as were made between England and France one year ago.

“Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, absent, and everybody had left the Foreign Office, celebrating the success of the elections.

“The result of the elections very satisfactory and gratifying. They have had no issue since 1870; this time the lines were drawn: ‘those for order and those against.’ It seems to signify that in an issue of importance, i.e., the welfare of the nation, the sober judgment of the people can be relied upon.

“November 15. — Called at the Foreign Office and talked with Fusinato, 1st Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He told me that I could cable my government that Italy was favourable to an arbitration treaty, same as England and France had made a year ago. As to a second Peace Conference, they would reply to the President’s invitation this week.

“November 19. — Cable the State Department that Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, officially informs me that His Majesty’s Government will participate with pleasure in the invitation of the President to a second Peace Conference, reserving the following points: —

“(a) Subjects which might come before the Conference.

“(b) The time at which it should be held.

“The course coincides with England’s. I had urged Italy to do this at once, without waiting for the other countries.

“*November 30.* — The King opens Parliament, attended by the royal family, Count of Turin on one side and the Duke of Genoa on the other. Duke of Aosta could not come on account of the sickness of the Duchess. The Queen and her ladies in the royal box, the Chiefs of Mission and their wives in the adjoining one on the right; on the floor were the Senators and Representatives.

“The speech of the King was well received. The main point was liberty and freedom as long as they are within the law. The great question was the betterment and uplifting of the working classes.

“*December 7.* — Audience with the King at 11.40. Presented the President’s autograph letter acknowledging the birth of the Prince of Piedmont. The King spoke of the enormous money we were appropriating for a Navy, prophesied that we would take or control all the country north of the Panama. Asked what we were going to do to discipline Hayti and Venezuela.

“*December 8.* — In the morning I went to the Vatican celebration of the Immaculate Conception at St. Peter’s. This Pope¹ was carried in for the first time. He rose in his chair with righteous indignation

¹ Pius X.

when the people attempted to applaud. . . . About 60,000 people in the Cathedral.

"*December 29.* — Received a cable from Henry Cabot Lodge, saying 'Do not answer the President's letter until you get mine.' Rather mysterious, and will be interesting to see what the President has written, and to know why Lodge has cabled as above. Undoubtedly concerns my future after March 4.

"*December 30.* — The King and Queen receive the Corps Diplomatique at 9.30. . . .

"The King asked me if I was going as Ambassador to Paris, and said of course it was considered an advance. I told him I should be sad to leave, but knew nothing official. After Captain Howard¹ was presented to the King, His Majesty told me an amusing story of one of their vessels which had only done 9 knots an hour, ran on the rocks, broke off one of its blades, and immediately accomplished 10 knots.

"*December 31.* — The Queen Mother (Margherita de Savoie) received the Diplomatic Corps — at 5 the Embassies, and at 6 o'clock the Legations. . . .

"The Queen asked me if it was true that I had been appointed Ambassador to Paris. I was obliged to say that I had received no official notice and only knew what I saw in the papers, and added that I should be very sad to leave Rome, every one had been so kind to us and made our life delightful. She added, 'Rome will be more sad to lose you.'

"*January 7, 1905.* — Get Cabot Lodge's letter of December 27. The President had intended to send

¹ Newly appointed Naval Attaché at the American Embassy.

me to Paris, but now desires me to go to St. Petersburg. Considers it the most important post at the moment. I am sorry on account of my family.

"January 8. — Wrote Cabot Lodge yesterday, and told him that the papers on the Continent and the Court here believe I am going to Paris. My answer was, 'I only know what I see in the papers.' Bismarck once said, 'If you do not want to be believed, tell the truth.' I fully realize the importance of the post, especially now that war is raging. On receipt of the President's letter I shall cable 'Accept with pleasure; appreciate the compliment.' My boy I shall send to Groton. How the climate suits my girls remains to be seen.

"January 14. — Received a long cable from Hay, took one hour and forty-five minutes to translate it; concerning the integrity of China and the open door policy in the Orient.

"Italy entirely in accord with us on both these points in case of peace between Japan and Russia, and cable to that effect to Washington. Received cable from Charley McKim, in which he said my cable of felicitation added much to the success of the dinner of the American Architects in Washington, at which the President was present and the purchase of a permanent home in Rome was announced."

President Roosevelt's letter, shrewdly anticipated as concerning Meyer's future after March 4, did not reach him until January 20. It was dated December 26. A considerable portion of it revealed the Presi-

dent's keen interest in the Far Eastern situation; the final paragraph spoke clearly for one point of his general policy: "Our Navy is year by year become more efficient. I want to avoid any blustering or threatening, but I want to be able to act decidedly when any turn of events menaces our interests, and to be able to make our words good once they have been spoken; and therefore I need to know each phase of any new situation." It is the first long paragraph of the letter that has its appropriate place in the record of George Meyer's life; for besides stating with characteristic vigour President Roosevelt's conception of the functions of an ambassador, it gives forcible expression to his confidence that Meyer was the man to perform them in the difficult Russian post. Thus he wrote:—

I desire to send you as Ambassador to St. Petersburg. My present intention is, as you know, only to keep you for a year as Ambassador; but there is nothing certain about this, inasmuch as no man can tell what contingencies will arise in the future; but at present the position in which I need you is that of Ambassador at St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg is at this moment, and bids fair to continue to be for at least a year, the most important post in the diplomatic service, from the standpoint of work to be done; and you come in the category of public servants who desire to do public work, as distinguished from those whose desire is merely to occupy public place—a class for whom I have no particular respect. I wish in St. Petersburg a man who, while able to do all the social work, able to entertain and to meet the Russians and his fellow-diplomats on equal terms, able to do all the necessary plush business,—business which is indispensable,—can do, in addition, the really vital and important things. I want a man

who will be able to keep us closely informed, on his own initiative, of everything we ought to know; who will be, as an Ambassador ought to be, our chief source of information about Japan and the war — about the Russian feeling as to relations between Russia and Germany and France, as to the real meaning of the movement for so-called internal reforms, as to the condition of the army, as to what force can and will be used in Manchuria next summer, and so forth and so forth. The trouble with our Ambassadors in stations of real importance is that they totally fail to give us real help and real information, and seem to think that the life-work of an Ambassador is a kind of glorified pink tea-party. Now, at St. Petersburg I want some work done, and you are the man to do it. It happens to be the only Embassy at which I do want work done just at present. There is at St. Petersburg, in the English Embassy, an Englishman whose name I will not give you, but whom I shall ask to call on you and talk freely over the situation, alluding to what he has written me. I have gained the most valuable information from him — better information than I have ever gained from any of our own people abroad, save only Harry White. Our First Secretary, Spencer Eddy, has also written us continually and given us good information. . . .

Meyer made immediate reply, in a letter illustrating his readiness both to give the President whatever information he could obtain, and to work as he had been “accustomed to work at home”: —

To President Roosevelt

ROME, *January 20, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Your letter of December 26th in the United States Embassy bag, reached Rome yesterday (January 19th). This

gives you a good idea of the time it occasionally takes for dispatches to reach me. It was handed to me this morning, as I had been duck-shooting on the coast for the day. After reading it carefully, I cabled you as follows: "Letter received to-day; appreciate the compliment, accept with pleasure."

I did this for the reason that as so much time had been consumed before getting the note, it was only proper that you should have an acknowledgment at once, as this letter will probably take two weeks more, before it is received by you. I fully realize the compliment you have paid me, and will endeavour to carry out your wishes to the best of my ability, and will lose no opportunity to post myself.

Day before yesterday ——— [an American newspaper correspondent] called on me. He had just arrived from Yokohama and has been with the Japanese army. To identify himself, he presented a circular letter of introduction issued by the State Department and addressed to the Diplomatic Corps and Consular Service.

The object of his call was to get advice about Macedonia, as he received a dispatch stopping his return home and instructing him to go to Macedonia and write up that question. To my surprise, I found in talking with him about the Russian war, that his sympathies were no longer with Japan. In fact, he seemed quite antagonistic and remarked that it was almost the universal feeling of English and Americans in the East.

To express it in ———'s own words: "The Japs are playing a big game before the world and for the moment are playing it straight and for all it is worth. They at heart do not care for any whites, not even for the English or Americans, who are useful to them now, and are working them for all they can. They laugh in their sleeves about the open door in Manchuria, for when the time comes they can beat us in manufacturing, due to cheap labour, and therefore get the trade. They are most

untruthful and deceitful as well as tricky in business transactions, and think nothing of breaking a contract if not profitable. The banks and bankers, for a position of trust and confidence, never think of employing Japanese clerks but employ Chinese." This last statement I had heard before from a most reliable source.

When I asked — if he thought Russia's word could be relied upon, his answer was "no," but their competition in trade would have been very mild, compared to what Japanese will probably be. — went so far as to say that the Japanese officers realized that, when their army was at its best and nearly double that of the Russian army, they had not been able to defeat or put to route Kuropatkin's army, and he, —, believes that they would never defeat the Russian army in Manchuria.

I quote this merely as an illustration of an American newspaper correspondent who has been with the Japanese army.

As to the integrity of China and the open door in Manchuria, Italy is willing and ready to follow our lead. Last Sunday evening the King informed me that they were going to remove their remaining troops in China, leaving only a small guard at the Legation in Peking, and that they should keep but two men-of-war in Chinese waters. He then asked me how the theory originated that new possessions might, under certain circumstances, be given to neutrals in case of peace between Russia and Japan; and on my professing ignorance he said, with almost a twinkle in his eye, "It certainly could not be a German thought."

I find that many leading Italians look with confidence to our Government for the future policy in China, as the influence which can best be trusted in the Orient.

Barrère, the French Ambassador here, whom I know very well, had told me, before this last Russian loan was announced,

that the Berlin bankers had demanded a part of the new Russian loan and the French financiers allotted one-third to Berlin. This was in order that the German bankers might make their commission; but it was felt that only a small part would be subscribed in Berlin and that the over-subscriptions in Paris would take care of it. However, on the contrary, it was several times over-subscribed in Berlin.

This is not necessarily a sign of sympathy towards Russia, as, where investments are concerned, sympathy generally goes to the winds, but it is a strong evidence of a belief, as far as Berlin is concerned, in the future stability of the Russian Government and a final settlement of the war, which will not weaken her resources to the extent of affecting the public credit. Last winter, when I was in Berlin, there seemed to be a fairly strong under-current of sympathy with Japan.

Now there is one point on which I would like your support, if I may have it.

All the important Governments send their bag by a courier, so that it is not out of their possession until they cross the frontier. If I am to write freely and give such information as I can acquire, it is valuable that secrecy should be maintained as far as Russia is concerned, for two reasons: one is that otherwise I might soon lose my usefulness if I became in a way *persona non grata*; second: the sources of obtaining information, with all freedom of the press abolished and a strict censorship of all literature, must naturally be limited and therefore [it would be] unwise to take chances of having the remaining sources discovered and possibly cut off. My idea is, if it has not already been adopted, of having a reliable courier (American) transport the bag to either the American Embassy in Paris or Berlin, and from there have it transported in the usual manner. The courier, on returning to St. Petersburg, would convey the pouch coming from Washington.

An Austrian Secretary from St. Petersburg (I will not mention his name now) told me this week that their Ambassador had just obtained a *cong  * for three months, feeling that [there] was going to be a revolution. An Ambassador that leaves his post from fear of revolution must have lost his usefulness. It is possible, however, that the Balkans may have something to do with it.

In conclusion I would say, Mr. President, that you are quite correct in thinking that I prefer a position where there is something of real importance to be done, as I was accustomed to work at home.

Believe me,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

Passages from Meyer's diary, supplemented by letters to President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge, will sufficiently tell the story of his final weeks in Rome. It is possible only to present typical bits of evidence of the careful preparation he was giving himself for the important work awaiting him, and of the many expressions from Italian friends testifying to the place he had made for himself in their esteem and affection. The complete chronicle of farewell dinners, private and semi-public, as the day of departure drew near, would alone fill many pages.

"*January 22.* — A great strike in St. Petersburg. Father Gapon made a pathetic appeal to the Tsar to receive a petition of the workmen in front of the Winter Palace, guaranteeing his personal safety. He also warned the Tsar, if they should not be allowed to hand it to him in person. They assembled in front of the

palace and were fired upon by the troops, causing much bloodshed. Probably the commencement of a revolution, and possible fate of the Tsar as ruler of Russia.

“January 23. — The affairs in Russia look very serious and conflicts between the troops and the workmen are increasing. It is said that the Tsar and his family have left St. Petersburg. The troops continuing to fire on the crowds.

“Dine at Marquis Rudini’s, son of the former Premier. The principal topic of conversation is the condition of affairs in St. Petersburg and other parts of Russia. Little or no expressions of sympathy are made for the Tsar or the Grand Dukes of Russia. Possibly the scene in front of the Winter Palace will entirely change the future history of Russia.

To President Roosevelt

Rome, January 28, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Since my letter of a week ago important and tragic events have taken place in St. Petersburg and other parts of Russia. Possibly the future of the Muscovite Empire has been seriously affected by the scenes which took place before the Imperial Palace. The historical relations between the people and the Tsars explain how it was possible that those unarmed Russians should have entertained the hope that they would be permitted to see the Tsar in person and lay their petition at his feet. The pathetic trust the people have put in the Tsar has failed them, and they have lost their blind faith in him, and they are now ripe for socialistic agitations.

What an opportunity the ruler of Russia has lost! He

might have gained the love of his people and respect of the world. A prominent Italian said to me: "Your President would not have hesitated a moment to receive the delegation." I replied: "No indeed, or met them in the open square."

The appointment of General Trépoff, as Governor General, will result in putting down the strikes in St. Petersburg by acts of the greatest severity. He has a long record of brutality, cruelty, and bad faith. The orders to fire on the crowd have aroused the opinion of the world against a government which shoots down unarmed people, without actual necessity. I find this sentiment already among the diplomatic representatives of the various countries. I take pains, however, to express no criticism, for obvious reasons.

The strikes have now spread to other cities. It is the first time in Russia that a strike has been organized in a comprehensive manner, as is done in other countries, so as to consolidate the working-men.

The view seems to prevail among the best informed that, while the spirit of revolution is awake throughout Russia, it is not in such a shape as to give practical expression to the voice of the people, due to geographical conditions, lack of ammunitions, financial support, and proper leadership.

It is felt by some that, if the Tsar has only the moral courage, it is not too late for him to lead the way to a peaceful solution of the internal troubles by granting certain of the most needed reforms.

The position of France, a republic, is a peculiar one, as she has united her destinies with Russia by an alliance, and has furnished her with almost unlimited supplies of money. The French Ambassador here shows signs of nervousness, and is quite frank before me in criticizing the mis-management and blunders of the Russian Government. He told me just after the war broke out that he had the refusal for the Rus-

sians of two Argentine and two Chilian cruisers, all of about 9,000 tons (two of which were being finished in Genoa and finally secured by the Japanese). When the Russians did not avail themselves of this opportunity, he felt sure it was for the reason that they did not believe war would take place. He has since discovered that the real cause was that a certain Grand Duke insisted that fifteen per cent was to be added to the price and the same paid back to him. This was refused and the transaction fell through.

Prince Ouroussow, the Russian Ambassador here, was this week transferred to Vienna; it was rumoured that Cassini might come here, but I have since learned that the Minister of the Interior in St. Petersburg is to be appointed Ambassador in Rome. His name I cannot recall at the moment.

The Japanese Minister, Mr. Ohyama, informed me that he considered the present conditions in Russia equivalent to another victory, as far as Japan was concerned, and must tend to hasten peace.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

"*February 1.* — Wrote to the State Department tendering my resignation to the President as Ambassador to Italy, to take effect March 4, or on the appointment of my successor, as may suit the President's convenience.

"On the election of a President or even reëlection, it is customary to tender your resignation as Ambassador, also as member of the Cabinet.

"The Civil List of about \$3,700,000 was approved this week, by a vote of 253 to 32. This was the annual

allowance made to King Humbert. Some of the liberal papers have urged reduction; the vote shows demonstration of V. E. III's popularity. He is very democratic, and some Roman princes speak of him as being socialistic.

"*February 4.* — Received a letter from Cabot Lodge, saying President was much gratified by receiving my cable accepting Ambassadorship at St. Petersburg. Said my name would be sent to the Senate soon after March 4; that the President would want me to go in March, as soon as possible; that Harry White was to succeed me here.

To Senator Lodge

ROME, *February 9, 1905.*

DEAR CABOT, —

Day before yesterday I had an opportunity to have a long talk with M. Bernoff, *Lieutenant Colonel aux chevalier-gardes de S. M. l'Impératrice douarière*, and now attaché in Rome. In speaking of the disturbances in Russia, he talked quite freely. He assured me that he knew officially that the number of killed and murdered had been greatly exaggerated. He acknowledged that there had been serious strikes, and that they had spread to other cities and towns in Russia; but he said: "They have been confined to the workmen. You have had serious strikes in America and so they have had in France. In Russia they are attracting the attention of the world at the time, for two reasons: one is that a certain socialistic element had endeavoured to use the strikes to help their cause and make it appear to the world that it is a revolution; the other is that, due to the fact that we are at war with Japan, any internal trouble attracts great attention at this time. Now we are not an indus-

trial country, and the fact that our working classes in factories of certain industrial centres are on a strike is not serious, as far as a revolution is concerned; they make up too small a part of the population of Russia. If you should tell me that the peasants had risen and were in revolt, then it would be serious and might mean a revolution. I know our peasants, my property is so situated that I live among them in the summer. They do not want a constitution, they do not even know what it means. They do, however, desire certain reforms and powers given to the Zemstvos, some of which are desirable; but they are not ripe for a revolution nor are they a party to it."

It so happened that the next day I met at lunch M. le Commandant de St. James, the French *attaché militaire*. He was in Peking during the time that the various Legations were besieged. He informed [me] that three days ago he received a letter from his brother, who is the managing director of the Wagon-Lits Company in Russia. He has occasion to travel a great deal in all parts of the country, including the important cities. He was in St. Petersburg at the time of the disturbances. It was impossible for him to report accurately as to the number of killed and wounded; but outside of that he stated that the accounts that had been sent out were not exaggerated; if anything they had been understated. The crowd that approached the Winter Palace was not a dangerous one, and he believed could have been held under control without the use of fire-arms. Women, children, and innocent people were shot down without fair warning. The action of the Government had alienated a large class of people, had shattered their faith in the Tsar, which, rightly or wrongly, had heretofore existed, and now so much feeling and sentiment had been aroused that it was his belief that sooner or later a revolution would come about.

What makes me believe personally that public sentiment is stronger than ever before and that it is realized in Russia,

is the fact that the Grand Duke Vladimir and one or two others have allowed themselves to be interviewed on the matter. They are not really disturbed by the sentiment in America or England, but the fact that a certain element in France has been aroused is causing them some uneasiness, as it might affect the French Cabinet and finally the relationship between that country and Russia.

In fact, Barrère, the French Ambassador, tells me that Loubet had seen certain signs of this movement, and had intimated to the Tsar that Russia would do well to take heed, and take into account what public sentiment might bring about under certain conditions.

I shall take pains to see that Colonel de St. James arranges to have this gentleman call on me in St. Petersburg, as he can be very valuable in giving me, later on, information as to the true sentiment and state of affairs in various parts of Russia.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

To President Roosevelt

ROME, February 14, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

In my letter of January 20 I stated that the Russian loan in Berlin had been several times over-subscribed. That was the information officially given out after the manner of certain industrial trust combinations, which were supposed to have been put out on the public successfully by Wall Street people. History sometimes repeats itself. The Russian loan, it turns out, went very badly in reality, and had to be taken up by the underwriters. My authority is the new English Ambassador, Sir Edwin Egerton, with whom I dined last night. The source

of his information he considered most reliable; he added that it was almost inconceivable that in the last twenty years, with the world advancing, Russia makes no progress, and even deteriorates. His wife is a Russian woman.

To-day I went shooting with the King, and he corroborates what Egerton has said about the Russian loan. As we were walking to the shooting-stands, he stopped suddenly and said: "I see it is officially announced that you are going to St. Petersburg; of course it is a promotion and a compliment, but you have got a difficult task. I will even make a prophecy that your country sooner or later will have trouble with Russia over China. Russia with everything tumbling down, as to her internal affairs, cannot continue the war with Japan. She will hope to make up by taking from China the equivalent of what she loses to Japan. Russia's diplomacy is based on misrepresentations and lies, and she cannot be trusted. In addition to her alliance with France, I feel sure that she has made some agreement with Germany, even in writing. The fact that Russia is replacing her modern guns on the frontier with obsolete ones is additional proof."

The King stated that he was in Russia once for three months, and that all his letters had been previously tampered with and opened. There is no doubt that it is regularly done, and individuals frequently send their letters across the frontier before they are posted, in order to insure their being unopened.

Within three months an employee of the Italian Embassy in St. Petersburg had been bribed for certain information, and at another Embassy (I was asked not to mention which), 30,000 roubles were offered for the combination of the safe, in order to get at the cable code.

I have mentioned this to show the importance of the Embassy having its own messenger to convey the Government's

bag to the frontier, i.e., if my dispatches are to be in any way confidential.

Believe me,
Respectfully,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

As your representative I had to keep up the reputation of a sportsman. I shot three wild boar and one white deer.

[*Diary*]

"*February 17.* — Gave a dinner to the English Ambassador, Sir Edwin Egerton, and Lady Egerton. The English Ambassador upset the dinner by announcing the death of the Grand Duc Serge by a bomb in Moscow just as we were going in. This was very tactless, as there were several Russians present. The guests included the Turkish Ambassador, Duchess of Sermoneta, Mme. LeGhait, Mme. Mechin, Mrs. Travers, Princess Frasso, Countess Telfener, Count Moltke, Hon. Reginald Lister, Prince Frasso, Colonel Bernoff, Mr. Roukavichnikow.

"The Grand Duc Serge was actually blown to bits. He was the most hated of them all, on account of his severity, cruelty, and reactionary spirit. What will be the outcome of this in Russia? I am going there at a critical time.

"*February 18.* — Write our names in the books of Russian Embassy, on account of the assassination of the Grand Duc Serge. Everything seems to be going to pieces. No real head, no fixed purpose, except stubbornness, which is the worst kind of stupidity. They got ready for war too late, sent reinforcements too late,

supplies too late, second fleet too late, small reforms given too late, Emperor received the workmen too late, and now they may ask for peace too late."

To President Roosevelt

ROME, February 21, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I beg leave to report a conversation that I had last night after dinner at the German Embassy with the English Ambassador. In speaking of the conditions in Russia and the consternation due to the assassination of the Grand Duke Serge, he remarked that it is now thoroughly recognized by Russians that the present attitude of the Tsar, as to the war and internal affairs, cannot continue, and that radical changes will be brought about or forced upon him. The trouble was that the Tsar had no fixed or decided policy; that Witte, whom he considered the best man in Russia for the present crisis, was holding off, because he does not want to take up matters until affairs are in such shape that he can be sure to bring about certain reforms and changes that he has long desired.

The Ambassador then went on to tell me of his last interview (December, 1904) with the Japanese Minister in Madrid, whom he considered a very level-headed man.

The Minister intimated that, under certain conditions, i.e., with a guaranty from England that it should not revert to Russia, they might concede Port Arthur to China; that in reality it was a port difficult to keep well dredged (there were other ports that were more valuable and accessible as far as they were concerned); that the Island of Sakhaline, of which they were deprived about 1870, was of considerable importance to them, due to the fishing banks (it has the fog-like character of Newfoundland); and that it was a matter of pride to them to regain this.

Whether there was any method in this outburst of the Japanese Minister at that time, I do not know; of course circumstances have changed greatly since. The fact that he was speaking to an English Ambassador with a Russian wife may have accounted for the apparent frankness — provided he desired the information to percolate in two directions.

Believe me,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

A visit to Berlin in February is described both in the diary and in letters to President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge. In the diary Mr. Meyer records an evening in Munich with his warm friends, the Count and Countess Somssich of the Austrian Embassy in Rome; a jocose reference of the Kaiser's, as on his yacht in Norway, to the confusion of American national airs; his suspicions of the purposes of England in China; and two meetings with Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, the English diplomat, for whose friendly offices in St. Petersburg President Roosevelt was already making provisions. But the letters to which allusion has just been made give the salient facts of the Berlin excursion.

To President Roosevelt

ROME, March 5, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I desire to acknowledge your favour of February 6. It followed me and came to hand the morning after I reached Berlin.

In my letter of February 14 I referred to a conversation with the King of Italy, in which he stated his suspicions of an agreement between Russia and Germany. Therefore I desired to get my impressions from the Emperor himself.

I left here on the 24th of February, and announced that I was going to Berlin in order to consult Mr. Tower about houses, etc., in St. Petersburg; my real object was to obtain an informal meeting with the Emperor, and to hear what he might have to say as to Russia, as he can apparently be very frank at times. This came about quite naturally, by his inviting me to a ball at the palace, where I had an opportunity of a long and private talk, or rather hearing him.

I gave His Majesty the message from your letter of February 14, which I was to deliver to the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, i.e., how pleased you had been at the position taken by the Emperor, and that it was your belief that the two countries will be able to work together as regards our policy in the Far East.

The Emperor instantly replied: "Position! Tell your President that I am following his policy." He then went on very freely and fully about the importance of the neutrality and integrity of China — how the Tsar never expected war himself and could not be made to believe that it would take place until Japan struck her decisive blow at Port Arthur. He referred to Russia being unprepared and the terrible corruption that existed. At the end of our conversation, that there might be no misunderstanding on my part, I said: "Your Majesty, then I may report to the President that you are in favour of both the neutrality and integrity of China?" "Yes," he replied, "most assuredly; if there should be any partition *now* of China there is no knowing where it would end. Also say that I believe that neither Russia or Japan should be interfered with in any way; but," he added, "tell the President to

keep his eye on Delcassé; I have my suspicions as to his plans and the action of France under certain possible circumstances.”

Every great power on the continent is more or less suspicious of the others at the moment. While they do not love us, but envy our success politically and commercially, they respect us for the reason that, although the policy of the Government may not meet their views, yet they realize it is consistent, straightforward, and that our statements can always be relied upon.

I know of no greater compliment that could be paid to you and Mr. Hay than this recognition by the world of the high plane upon which you both have placed American diplomacy.

Believe me,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

To Senator Lodge

Rome, March 5, 1905.

MY DEAR CABOT, —

. . . I was fortunate in finding Spring-Rice in Berlin, and also had a very satisfactory talk with him; he was most kind and cordial, and will be a great comfort and assistance, especially this summer. He, like most Englishmen, is very suspicious of the Emperor, — taking into consideration what has transpired the last few years, this is not surprising, — yet at the moment possibly biassed in his judgment. The Emperor, on the other hand, has not the most cordial feelings for England and, in turn, is suspicious and prejudiced. The man, however, who, he thinks, requires the most watching at the moment is Delcassé. I find the tone of the French diplomats utterly different than at the commencement of the war. They do not hesitate to criticize in plain language the incapacity of the administration of the Russian army and navy, and state that

it is utterly futile for Russia to continue the war. One important Frenchman said to me that it was his impression that after the present loan of 800,000,000 roubles was floated, it would be very difficult to place another in France if the war continued.

[*Diary*]

“ *March 6.* — Received a telegram from Washington, saying the President had appointed me Ambassador to St. Petersburg and that my name had been sent to the Senate.

“ Court Ball. The Court, having been in mourning on February 20 for Grand Duke Sergius, gave only one ball. We arrived at 10.15, found every one in place and all the Diplomatic Corps present, except the British Ambassador and his wife, Lady Egerton. I was the dean of the Diplomatic Corps, as the Turkish Ambassador, Rechid Bey, and Barrère, French Ambassador, were not present. The heat and the crowd were terrible.

“ At eleven o'clock the King and Queen entered, followed by the Master of Ceremonies and ladies-in-waiting, Countess della Trinità, Princess Teano, and Donna Franca Florio, looking exceedingly handsome. Had a long talk with the King. Again expressed his regret at my leaving. Told me of his experience in Russia. When he was in a port, he gave 20 roubles to a man. Shortly there was great fight over it. One man bit the tongue out of another, and he called the police, fearing his Italians would be injured. The police took the offending man, three stood on him, and



HUNTING ON THE CAMPAGNA: MR. MEYER ON HIS HORSE
"RUBY"

THE
HISTORICAL

a fourth beat him, and later took and held his head under water. His Majesty said it made him sick. It surprised the Russian that he stopped it. The King pointed out a man that he had arrested when an officer and put in prison for lying — was now a deputy!

“The Queen spoke first with the two Annunziate, then with the Ambassadors, and then made the round of the room. After she had returned to her seat, as I was the dean, she sent for me first among the Diplomatic Corps. Asked how soon I was leaving, and said what a pity it was. The Russian defeat was referred to, and she said the King’s sympathies were for Japan and that at table they were always talking about it. The heat was so great Julia had to leave the ball. Her mother and Alice received many compliments.

“Take Alice hunting with me; poor sport, but beautiful day.

“*March 8.* — Senate confirms my appointment as Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Wire Eddy to hire the Countess Kleinmichel house¹ for an Embassy.

“Kuropatkin seems to be retreating, but in some order.”

To Senator Lodge

ROME, *March 12, 1905.*

DEAR CABOT, —

Yours of the 25th *ultimo* received. I am much obliged for the hint as to the treatment McCormick² received from

¹ Formerly occupied by the Spanish Embassy.

² Robert S. McCormick, of Illinois, Meyer’s predecessor at St. Petersburg.

the Russians when the war broke out. I do not expect to be received with the glad hand or smiling countenance, but I shall insist upon receiving such recognition and courtesies as are due to me officially as Ambassador of the United States of America. The Government, however, puts me in an awkward situation by not furnishing a courier, as is done at the other Embassies, to convey the pouch across the frontier. Imagine if the United States Senators secretly read each others' letters; the relations between some of them would certainly become strained, or at least, not be as cordial as they are now. Neither would it conduce to agreeable or better legislation.

As I do not expect to go to Russia again, after I am through being Ambassador, it is really immaterial to me personally whether they read my dispatches or not, except for the fact that their knowledge of the instructions sent to me or of my answers to the Department and private letters to the President will certainly restrict my usefulness and make it very hard to carry out his wishes.

In order to obtain any results I should be put in a position to forward confidential reports that should not be read by the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg before they reach Washington.

I mention this to you because, in my letter of January 20 to the President, I asked if the question of a courier might have his support. In his favour of February 6 he does not refer to it. Now, I do not want to make this demand to the State Department if it does not meet with his approval. Therefore, if you could let me know it would be much appreciated.¹

I quoted the opinions of the Russian attaché and the French director in St. Petersburg, in order to show how far apart they were. While there is no question about the Russians lying, they are at the same time very stubborn and apparently unable to see the handwriting on the wall.

¹ Meyer's request for a special courier was granted.

Yesterday I had a half an hour call at my apartment from the Chinese Minister, who came with his French interpreter. He informed me that in Peking they realized that we were the only country that was absolutely sincere, when we asserted that we desired no territory in their Kingdom, but were for the neutrality and integrity of China. He asked what we intended to send to Manchuria when the open door was established, and if Alaska joined Russian territory? I related to him that, in the last few years, we had taken in gold from Alaska as much if not more than we had paid Russia for the entire territory. I have never heard him laugh out loud before, but he threw himself back in his chair and seemed immensely amused by this.

Barrère has written his colleague, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, to give me whatever assistance he can.

The day after I was confirmed in the Senate, I cabled the State Department to send my letters of recall, official passports for myself and family, and letters of credence, all together, direct to Rome, as it will assist me and expedite matters to have it done in that way.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

“*March 19.* — Farewell dinner given to us by sixty Italians at the Grand Hotel. They included the Sermonetas, Teanos, Bruschi, Terranovas, Viggianos, Paternos, Caetanis, Sinninos (Colonna), Orsinis, Donna Franca Florio, Rudinis, Tittonis, Ruspoli, Grazioli, Guglielmis, Mazzoleni, Lecca Cappelli, Bourbon del Montis, Belmonti, Apollonj, Cavriani, Sforza, Pietromarchi, etc.

"It was a remarkable gathering of the Court; the 'Blacks,' the Cabinet were all represented. It was given in the library, beautifully decorated, in all seven tables, about ten each. The Duke of Sermoneta made the toast of the evening, being most cordial and complimentary in his remarks, and ended by saying that whenever we returned, we would find our welcome most cordial and their hearts as warm towards us as ever, and that our departure was a great loss to them and to Rome.

"The young Marquis Guglielmi then spoke for the young Italians, in the same cordial and hearty manner, and was most complimentary to Alice and the girls. The speeches had been made in French, so I answered as follows: 'Mes amis, permettez-moi d'employer cette expression à votre égard. Je suis très flatté et touché même de votre attention ce soir. Dans toute ma vie je n'ai jamais été plus content ni plus heureux que pendant mon séjour à Rome. Je pars maintenant, ou bientôt, et ce n'est pas sans regret, je vous assure. Je me souviendrai toujours avec affection de vos bontés et de votre hospitalité. Je desire vous remercier pour moi même d'abord, et puis au nom de ma famille.'

"The Duke thanked me for my remarks, and said that such a dinner had never before been given to any ambassador of any country!"

From a letter to President Roosevelt, dated March 25, a single sentence should be quoted: "This morning I received a letter from Eddy, in which he informs me

that the German Emperor has sent an autograph letter to the German Ambassador there, asking him to show me every courtesy and attention, and to be of as much assistance as possible."

The diary proceeds: —

"*March 27.* — Have asked for audience with his Majesty, as I intend leaving Saturday, April 1, and to be allowed to take my *cong  * without presenting my letters of recall, which are to be presented by Mr. White;¹ also for an audience for Alice and myself with the Queen. Wired the Department that I had asked for farewell audiences and that Mr. White would present my letters of recall. Shall start for Paris, Saturday, April 1, and then proceed to St. Petersburg as soon as my letters of credence arrive. They are on the *Lucania*, which sailed from New York for Bremen, Saturday, March 25.

"*March 28.* — Farewell audience with the Queen Mother at 2.30. Received us most cordially, talked a good deal about Russia. She spoke of him [the Tsar] as a man who had not kept his word about Finland and treated the people abominably. I also recalled the fact that he had done so in regard to his returning the visit of the King of Italy. Gave me a list of very interesting books on Japan, which she wrote herself on my card.

"*March 29.* — It is said that the Japanese are surrounding and cutting off the retreat of General Linevitch. If true, it will be a terrible defeat for the Russians. The talk for peace continues; the Japanese

¹ Henry White, Meyer's successor as United States Ambassador to Italy.

have placed a loan in London and New York, and the French have given out that they will not make another loan unless peace is made. Meantime the Tsar has declined the good offices of the Emperor for peace. He cannot, and will not, be enlightened as to the terrible disaster awaiting his Empire abroad and at home.

“*March 30.* — Farewell audience with the King at 11 o'clock. Expressed great regret at my departure and hoped I would come back. I complimented His Majesty on the advance in prosperity which had taken place since my sojourn in Italy. I said I wished baccarat could be stopped at the clubs, as it was ruining so many young men. ‘There is a law against it.’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, ‘but it is not enforced, and public sentiment should be aroused in the matter.’ After a talk of half an hour the King ended the audience by saying, ‘The Queen and myself will have the pleasure of seeing you at dinner to-night.’ He told me that he would guarantee to copy the seal on our pouch in two minutes, and was very glad to hear that I had obtained a messenger from my Government.

“The King and Queen give us a farewell dinner at the Royal palace at 8 o'clock. I gave my arm to the Queen and the King escorted Alice, to my surprise going behind. The dinner was served in the room with five tapestries, that is used as a supper-room after a reception to the Corps Diplomatique. The King was not very talkative at dinner, but the Queen talked a good deal in French. She told me a

good deal of Russian life. As usual talked of her children. Was amazed when I told her that I had sold my auto for 35,000 francs; told the King about it across the table and said 'I wish you would stay and sell mine for that.'

"After dinner Gianotti took me to another room, where we smoked our cigars.

"*March 31.* — My first and farewell audience with the Pope. Alice, the girls, myself, and Bey had our audience at 12. He received us in his library and made us all sit down while he sat at his desk. He talked very clearly and distinctly in Italian, and I answered him in French. He told me that he was corresponding with the Tsar and prayed for peace. He noticed that Julia had a photograph of him in her hand, which he offered to sign.

"Afterwards we paid our respects to Merry del Val, Secretary of State, in the Borghese apartment of the Vatican. We joked about young men getting in office both in America and in the Vatican. He is very clean-cut looking.

"*April 1.* — Farewell audience with H.R.H. the Duchess of Aosta, at the Quirinal Palace, at 10 o'clock. She received me in a most cordial and friendly manner. Looked very well. She was very outspoken about the Russians and the Grand Dukes, saying they were such terrible thieves. Another winter they were to live in Naples, and she hoped to get some riding, which I told her would be very easy if she lived in Capo-di-Monti. She was now going to join the Queen of England. After nearly an hour's

call, she wished me good-bye, asked me to send her mine and Alice's photographs.

"Leave Rome at 1.40, on the train for Paris. All the Chefs de Mission were down to see me off, also Tittoni, Fusinato, Malvano, Gianotti, and a host of Italians. It was most flattering, and I felt really touched by their kindness and expressions, as though I was parting from old friends who have made my stay in Italy among the most delightful of my life, both for me and my family."

IV

AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA

(1905-1907)

THE physical contrast between Rome and St. Petersburg is accurately symbolic of the differences between the life and work of Mr. Meyer as Ambassador in Italy and in Russia. In changing the sunlight of his first post for the snows of his second, he changed the background of a peaceful and happy country for that of a land at once engaged in a losing fight with a foreign foe and distracted with internal troubles of a most sinister nature. He left a modern democracy, under the temperate leadership of a constitutional monarch, and went to the European capital at which autocracy was to be seen at its worst. In the nature of the case, his duties — and with them his responsibilities and opportunities — were enormously multiplied. There were still many pleasures to be seized and enjoyed as they passed — pleasures of society, more intensively national, less cosmopolitan, outside the circle of diplomats, than in Rome; and of sport, distinctively Russian in many of its forms, and therefore novel and noteworthy to an American.

But the pleasures, the indispensable “plush business” of an ambassador — as President Roosevelt

had so well defined it — could occupy but a secondary place in the concerns of the representative of a great country and a great President in such a crisis of world-politics and history as that which coincided in point of time with the period of Meyer's service in Russia. Within two months of his arrival at St. Petersburg, it fell to him to conduct in person the negotiations with the Tsar which led to the Peace Conference at Portsmouth on the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War; a little more than two months later, he secured from the Tsar, again in person, the agreements upon terms which brought about the signing of the treaty; he followed with shrewd eyes the inward disturbances of Russia, watched the unpropitious opening of the Duma, and, further afield, the personal and international differences which the conference at Algeciras sought to adjust. As during his years at Rome, there were several meetings with the Kaiser, and, on his way home from Russia, audiences, besides, with the Kings of Italy and Great Britain.

For all these reasons his diaries and letters in 1905, 1906, and 1907, written in a Russia which since 1914 has in many respects gone the way of Nineveh and Babylon, possess an uncommon interest and historical value. They deal with events and personalities so familiar and important that little explication is required. Through the years of his ambassadorship in Russia, his family, because of the climate and conditions of the country, was with him less than in any period of his public life. For this very reason it may be that his own record of his daily experiences is the

more complete. It is so abundant that, more than in any other portions of this biography, it will of itself tell the story to be told.

The diary, first of all, describes a few days in Paris, where on April 4 Meyer had an interview with Delcassé, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, who "tells me that no *pourparlers* have commenced for peace and cannot until both are ready to do so." The next day he took the train for St. Petersburg.

"April 6, 1905. — Arrive at the frontier at 9 o'clock. Immediately shown to a waiting [official]. Fortunately I spoke German, as they only understood that language and Russian. Impressed by the peculiar costumes — the coats having skirts and tied around the waists by a cord. The porters wear aprons. On handing in my passports and *laissez passer*, which had been *visés*, there was very little delay.

"April 7. — The Russian sleeping-car is the most comfortable that I have travelled in, being wider and higher than the ordinary, with electric lights, well arranged, and comfortable beds, chairs, and well upholstered.

"The country was covered with snow, and the houses of wood; the forests and the fields reminded me of Canada, the architecture of the churches, however, being absolutely different.

"Arrived in St. Petersburg on time, at 2.25. Met at the station by Mr. Eddy,¹ Mr. Bliss,² the Consul

¹ Spencer Eddy, counsellor of the American Embassy.

² Robert Woods Bliss, Second Secretary.

General, Mr. Watts,¹ Mr. de Frescheville, head clerk, and Mr. Vezey, my secretary. Went first to Hotel Europe, to see my rooms, which were very comfortable and spacious, with a modern bath-room and American fixtures. Then to the Chancery, where I found my credentials awaiting me. Cabled Washington that I had taken possession of my post."

The diary proceeds with many details of the first days in St. Petersburg, summarized in the following letter to Mr. Meyer's uncle in New York:—

To Thomas Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, 3/16 April, 1905.

MY DEAR UNCLE TOM,—

It may interest you to hear something about my arrival in St. Petersburg and presentation to Their Majesties the Tsar, Tsarina, and the Dowager Empress.

After leaving Italy in the full bloom of springtime, with all the blossoms and flowers in the fields, it was rather a surprise to wake up after crossing the frontier and find myself in the midst of winter, with a severe snow-storm raging on all sides. I left Paris by the Nord-Express at two o'clock Wednesday, April 5, and arrived in St. Petersburg on Friday, April 7. The country between the frontier and St. Petersburg, with its forests and fields covered with snow, and wooden farmhouses, reminded me very much of Canada, yet I realized how far off I was when I entered St. Petersburg and found the streets full of these little droshky sleighs, without any bells.

I was met at the station by my secretaries and the Consul-General and suite of the Embassy, and after inspecting my rooms at the Hôtel d'Europe, went direct to the Chancery and

¹ Ethelbert Watts, of Pennsylvania.

took the oath of office. The following day I called on Count Lamsdorff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, presented a copy of my letter of credence and asked for an audience, in order that I might present the original to His Imperial Majesty. Count Lamsdorff does not suggest the typical Russian. He is rather a small man, with cordial manners, and not the type of the European diplomatist, except that he never expresses a decided opinion.

Wednesday, April 12, was the day appointed for my audience with Their Imperial Majesties. A special royal train was assigned to take me from St. Petersburg, at 1.40, in which there were four masters of ceremony and my own suite. Arriving at the station, which is only half an hour distant from St. Petersburg, I was received by the master of ceremony and his assistant at the station, where there were four gilded royal coaches assigned to convey me to the palace. In the first there were two masters of ceremony; in the second, which consisted of the royal coach swung on ancient C-springs, with coachmen, footmen, and outriders in royal livery, and drawn by six white horses, myself and the master of ceremony; in the third, the secretaries of the Embassy, and in the fourth, the remaining aides-de-camp.

The procession proceeded slowly, on account of the snow, to the park and palace of Tsarskoë Selò. The Emperor was not living in the great palace, but in the Alexander Palace, which is about four times the size of the White House, the exterior architecture being of that character, with a porch and columns at each end of the palace, the interior being Empire style of the best period.

After we had alighted and entered the palace, and the members of the royal household had been presented, we formed in procession and marched slowly and solemnly to the reception-room hall of the Dowager Empress. She reminded me very

much of the Queen of England, due to her coiffure, a style which is rather peculiar to the present Queen of England and the Princesses. She expressed much interest in my sojourn in Italy, where she had never been, and also in the present trip of her sister, the Queen of England, throughout the Mediterranean. After the audience was completed, I presented my secretaries to Her Majesty and the procession formed again, marching to the other end of the palace, where the Imperial Guard was drawn up, giving the salute in honour of the Ambassador.

On entering the reception hall, I was received at the same time by the Emperor and Empress, who were standing in the centre of the room. I made the customary three bows, one on the threshold, one halfway, and the other as I shook hands with the Emperor, and saluted and kissed the hand of the Empress. She had a very *triste* and restrained air, and has grown much stouter, as she has been nursing the Tsarevich.

The photographs of the Emperor give one an excellent idea, as he resembles them strongly. He appears to be rather retiring and a little embarrassed in talking, but he looked in better condition than I expected. The conversation progressed rather hesitatingly, or without much fluency, until I happened to remark that I had met His Imperial Majesty's brother, the Grand Duke Michel, at Kiel, when I was racing there with the Emperor of Germany. He quite waked up then, and wished to know all about it, and as the incident¹ was rather amusing, it broke the ice and made my audience pass off very pleasantly. It happened that I was at Kiel the summer of the King of England's coronation and had been racing the entire day on the Meteor with the Kaiser and Prince Henry. That evening we had gone into a little port called Eckernförde, where the

¹ See *ante*, p. 61.

Emperor each year has a smoke-talk and beer evening at the little town hall, to which all the owners of the different yachts are invited. In the middle of the evening, while I was sitting next to the Emperor, Prince Henry came up and announced that His Royal Highness the Grand Duke Michel had just entered the harbour on the Russian yacht, having come straight from England, and that he desired to have an audience with His Majesty. The Emperor replied that that was impossible on account of his costume and the entertainment of the evening, but that he would be pleased to see him if he would come informally. Prince Henry disappeared, and returned in about an hour afterwards with the Grand Duke and his suite, who must have been surprised. The Emperor, as he entered the room, remarked to me: "I imagine this is the first time a Grand Duke has seen a King receive in such an informal way as this." I moved away, after being presented to the Grand Duke, in order to give him my place, and Prince Henry then told me of his experience. He had found it impossible to get hold of a launch, as they were all out at the yachts, not having been ordered to be at the docks until an hour later, so he hailed a fishing boat and was rowed out to the Russian yacht by three fishermen. When he approached, the flash-lights were thrown on him and he was forbidden to come on board. He said: "That incensed me for the moment, but I realized the situation and that it would be foolish for me to announce that I was Prince Henry, as it would not have been believed, but I stated that I was a German Admiral and insisted upon coming aboard. After some hesitation, I was allowed to approach the boat, and confusion reigned for a moment when they recognized who I was, and explanations and excuses on both sides were the order of the day."

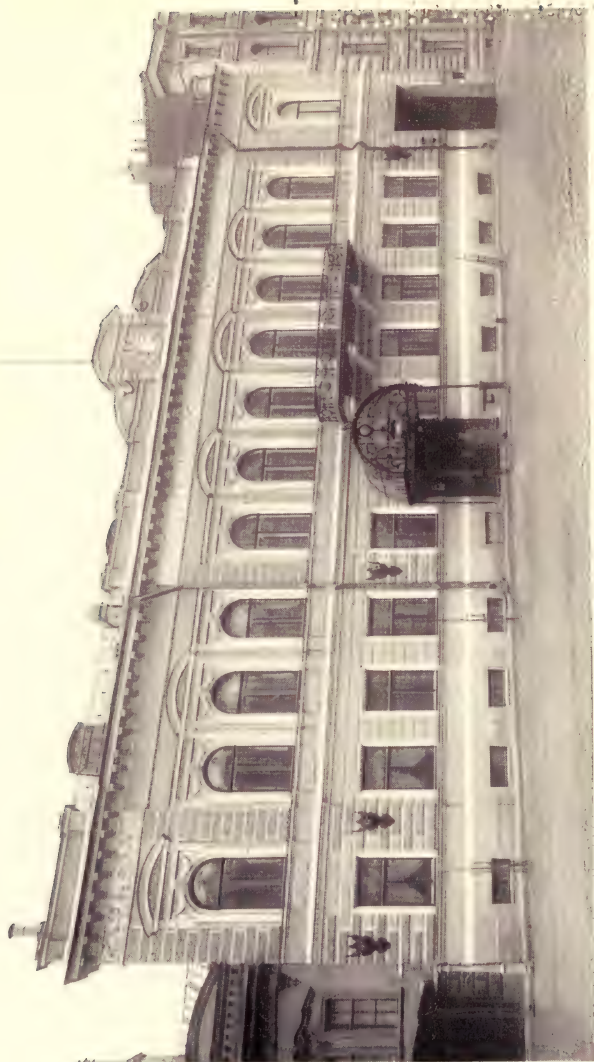
The Emperor and Empress laughed over the description, and after further conversation of about fifteen minutes, the

audience was closed by the Emperor asking me to present my secretaries.

The stories that he attempted suicide are foolish newspaper gossip. I was also surprised to see that the palace was not guarded, but there seemed to be simply two sentries at the gates. It is surrounded by a beautiful park with trees and drives and walks, and looks brilliant from the sun shining on the snow.

All talk of peace seems to have evaporated for the present, a different aspect and condition of affairs being established by the arrival of Rodjestvensky's fleet in Chinese waters. They have great expectation of what he may be able to accomplish. The vital issues are, however, not in the East, but in the country itself, where the agitations are spreading in every direction among the people for a constitution or representative government. Unfortunately, the reactionists seem to have the ear of His Majesty, and while many promises are made for reforms, no progress is really made and nothing actually accomplished. It seems to be a policy of drifting and postponing. The people are beginning to realize that it is a matter of words with the Government and not of action, and unless something is really done, the tendency in the land is towards revolution. The reformists, as well as the Government, are at a disadvantage, because there are no real leaders; but it is very sad to see this country drifting towards chaos from a lack of appreciation of the real situation and the necessity of reforms.

I have nothing to criticize in the way of my reception. The Russians that I have met have been extremely courteous and in some cases hospitable, and there is nothing to complain of except the climate. I have leased the Countess Kleinmichel's house, which was formerly the Spanish Embassy, when Prince Pio of Savoy was here, a little over a year ago. My family are leaving Rome to-morrow and will work up slowly to Paris.



THE KLEINMICHEL PALACE, AMERICAN EMBASSY AT ST. PETERSBURG, 1905-06

A black and white photograph of a large, multi-story building with a prominent central tower and many windows, likely a government or institutional building.

I have not quite decided when to let them come up here, as I am watching the trend of events. There is a good deal of nervousness among the people, though as far as the eye is concerned, the city is in a normal condition. There is a feeling that there may be a movement on the first of May throughout Russia, but I should be surprised if anything is really accomplished, because the Government and the troops will be prepared, such a long notice having been given.

I hope this finds you well after the severe winter that you have had in New York. I suppose by the time this reaches you, you will be thinking of running down to the Suffolk Club, and I envy your casting a fly for the trout.

Sincerely your nephew,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

In a letter to President Roosevelt, written three days earlier, Meyer had written thus of his first interview with the Emperor and Empress:—

I had hoped I should see the Emperor alone, as the English Ambassador had told me that the young Empress was influencing her husband to continue the war and gain a victory.

I delivered your instructions as cabled by Adeo on March 27, and she drew nearer and never took her eyes off the Tsar. When I pronounced the words: "At a proper season, when the two warring nations are willing, the President would gladly use his impartial good offices towards the realization of an honourable and lasting peace, alike advantageous to the parties and beneficial to the world," His Majesty looked embarrassed, and then said, "I am very glad to hear it"; but instantly turned the conversation on to another subject, never alluding to it again.

A postscript to this letter adds: —

It is already said by a certain Grand Duchess that the Tsarina was present on purpose to prevent the Tsar committing himself in any way or my having an extended conversation.

In his diary for April 12 Meyer, moreover, had written:

“Delivered my special instructions from the President about offering to use his good offices for peace. He seemed embarrassed, merely said, ‘I am glad to hear it.’ The Empress watched him like a cat. She is for continuing the war.”

It was obvious enough that difficulties lay ahead. Meanwhile there were many signs that agreeable personal relations would soon be established in the portions of St. Petersburg society with which Meyer was to become most familiar. Cordial audiences with the Grand Dukes followed in rapid succession before the end of April. Almost immediately upon his arrival he wrote in his diary: —

“As yet I have received only politeness from the Russians, and in the most well-bred manner. Called on the different Ambassadors, but found only three at home: M. Bompard [the French Ambassador], who told me that he had already received a letter from Barrère about me (I envied the Government tapestries that he had in his house); Baron d’Aehrenthal, the Austrian Ambassador, who impressed me as a clean-cut, able man, high-bred looking; and Chevalier

Melegari, the Italian Ambassador. Although we had never seen each other before, we met as old friends, having so many in common in Italy. Late in the afternoon drove to the Belosselskys. She was a Miss Whittier of Boston, and is one of the smartest women in St. P., and belongs to the most agreeable set. Polo is played in their grounds."

Meyer himself was soon taking part in the game, and in many ways rapidly extending his acquaintance in St. Petersburg. The British Ambassador, Sir Charles Hardinge, and the German, Graf von Alvensleben, begin to figure in his journal. The Turkish Ambassador tells him one day that he was in Paris during the Siege of 1870, and the Commune. "During the Commune," the diary reports, "food got very scarce, and one day his cook said that he had been able to get a hare only with great difficulty; but two days later he noticed that his cat was missing, and found that he had eaten it." Employments of many kinds were soon filling the days as full as they had been at Rome. In a letter to his wife he described his first capercailzie, or "cock-of-the-woods," shoot, mentioned also in a letter of the next day to the President.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, 21/4 May, 1905.

. . . Last Monday I went out with Csekonic¹ to shoot the capercailzie. At the Club House we joined Prince Belosselsky and several other Russians. No Ambassador has

¹ Count Ivan Csekonic, Attaché, late Secretary of the Austrian Embassy.

been out there shooting since the Duke of Montebello was here as French Ambassador. They were all exceedingly polite, and I enjoyed it very much; but it is different from any sport that I have ever engaged in and very hard work. We sat up till midnight playing bridge, and then had to start off for the woods, over the worst roads I have ever struck, in wagons with no springs. After going as far as possible, you get down and walk in leather boots up to your hips through the woods. That I enjoyed very much, because it was so weird and attractive. When we got near the rendezvous, in order not to disturb the game, I had to sit down and wait for the coming dawn, and it was so interesting hearing the different wood sounds. First, about 2 A.M., was the screech of the night-owl, and strange to say, the first bird that sang before the break of dawn was the grey partridge. Then came the call of the moose, and later on the signal of the capercailzie to his mate, for which we were waiting. Then we began stalking, so to speak, the bird, which is sitting in some high tree giving the peculiar sounds. You can only take about three steps at a time, and must stop instantly when he stops singing. Otherwise he takes alarm before you can get within gun-shot. The difficulty is to locate the tree in the midst of the forest, and to be able to outline the bird against the sky, because it is still dark, with a slight grey dawn, when you begin to shoot. I was very fortunate and killed two, which was the limit last year for one morning, and could have shot a third, but my guide prevented it, not knowing the regulations had been changed this year to three, which Belosselsky managed to obtain. We got back to the Club House between five and six, and then had coffee and eggs, and I turned in later and slept till noon. In the afternoon we went woodcock shooting but had very poor sport. It was the most difficult walking, as the roads are impossible, even for walking. One sinks almost to one's knees and slips, and we finally took

to the fields. That night we went through the same routine, only the birds would not give the call the next morning, as it was a day like the first of June at home. I never saw such a wonderful sunset, and I have never seen such neglected and undeveloped country. Great possibilities, but no organization and no energy.

That day we got into St. Petersburg at eight o'clock in the morning, having been up all night, and I was indeed glad to jump into bed for three or four hours, as I was obliged to lunch at one and call at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the afternoon, where all of my colleagues assembled. The English and Spanish Ambassadors, however, are both away on leave.

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, 22/5 May, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs received the Diplomatic Corps. There is always a reception of Ambassadors and Ministers in the ante-camera while they await their turn. Great interest and curiosity was expressed in the report that you had shortened your trip, and also in the coincidence of the German and English Ambassadors at Washington taking leave at the same time.

Everything in St. Petersburg has been very quiet the past week, and Count Lamsdorff expressed ignorance as to whether the Rodjestvensky Fleet and the Third Baltic Fleet have united, or even as to their exact whereabouts. It is thought here that the Admiral has a free hand.

The Ukase of the Emperor, granting practically religious freedom to all sects, except the Jews, makes a great concession to the party of reform, and if carried out in all its completeness, the greatest concession to individual liberty since the liberation of the serfs.

The conditions in the Caucasus and in Poland, especially Warsaw, are very unsatisfactory.

I went out for a day's shooting of capercailzie with some Russians. It was only an hour and a half outside of St. Petersburg and yet the road from the station to the Club, which, by the way, was a county road, was almost impossible. In America we would not think of attempting such a road with anything except a team of oxen. We, however, drove in a wagon without springs drawn by a pair of horses, and nearly upset, as it was, several times. The Russians acknowledge that this was a fair sample of their country roads. A characteristic feature, which exemplifies the extravagance and absolute lack of administration in Russia, was observable in the fact that piles of crushed stone were on each side of the road. I asked why they had not been used to build the road with and make it passable. "Oh," was the reply, "those stones have been there for over five years — you see they are almost concealed by grass and weeds. The county officers have done nothing about it and the farmers or peasants are too lazy to do it themselves."

The same want of system and lack of preparation has apparently existed in the War Department. A wounded officer who has lately returned from the war in Manchuria related that owing to procrastination the Department had neglected to make proper surveys and furnish the army with the necessary maps in order to familiarize the officers with the best roads and exact character of the country in which they were fighting, thus putting them to great disadvantage as compared to the Japanese.

There seems to be a feeling here among some of the diplomats (on what it is based I do not know), that after the naval encounter the question of peace will be agitated and taken up in Washington.

Schwab and Flint have both been here. The former has now left, but the latter still stays. They were in the same hotel

with me. I know as a fact that they had several interviews with the Grand Duke Alexis, nominal head of the navy. Schwab is supposed to have made two separate offers, one to build and supply a fleet of battle-ships of most approved model and up-to-date, delivered within three years, the other to set up ship-yards in Russia. The propositions are supposed to have attracted the Russian Government and met with a favourable reception. Nothing was absolutely settled, and Flint has stayed on in the hopes of consummating a deal. The Emperor's approval has not yet been obtained, and it is probable that nothing will be concluded until after the naval encounter, if then.

In my dispatch to the State Department, No. 16, dated 15/28th April, I have reported fully the result of my *pour-parlers* with the Ministry of Finance in relation to the discriminating duties against American commerce.

I remain,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

Before the end of May Mr. Meyer's wife and daughters joined him in St. Petersburg. Passing events are noted in the diary.

"*May 31.* — Lamsdorff sends word that he will be unable to receive the Diplomatic Corps. Probably on account of the defeat of the Russian fleet, he wishes to avoid the ordeal of seeing us all.

"All the papers cry out in consternation in St. P. this morning at the catastrophe which has overtaken the Russian fleet. All the indignation and wrath is poured out freely upon the bureaucracy alone, which is held responsible for all the misfortunes of the war, and there is a general demand for

the immediate assembly of the representatives of Russia.

“ June 1. — The Russian fleet, it seems, was completely shattered, and it has been an extraordinary victory for the Japanese. They attacked the Russian Squadron, southeast of Tsu Shima, sinking all but two battleships, the Orel and Nicolai, which they have captured, together with two cruisers. One cruiser, Almaz, one destroyer, and one hospital ship reach Vladivostok. The three Russian admirals are prisoners of war in Japan, and about 3,000 of the crews and officers. The damage to the Japanese fleet very slight, one cruiser, and ten torpedo boats. This finishes Russia as a naval power at sea.

“ June 2. — Alice and the girls have their audience with the Grand Duke and Duchess Vladimir. The audience was at 2.30 with the Grand Duchess only, but the Grand Duke, who had met Alice and the girls at Homburg, two years ago, came in and joined them. He asked the girls what they thought should be done now and Julia said, ‘Peace!’ He said, ‘Why, and how would you bring it about?’ quite abruptly. They had been to a birthday lunch at Grand Duke Alexis’, and I think he was a little excited. Contrary to custom, he escorted Alice out of the room, to the surprise of his attendants, to the head of the stairs. He has given up going to the wedding of the Crown Prince at Berlin. The Grand Duke Michel is going instead.

“ June 3. — Count and Countess Trauttmansdorf¹

¹ Count Charles Trauttmansdorf was Secretary of the Austrian Embassy.

and Eddy lunched with us. They were lately married. She is quite pretty, but very shy like all Austrian women when first married; but they get over that.

“It appears that Admiral Togo waited for three months in the Tsu Shima Straits without its being announced. Imagine the press in our country being willing to keep such a thing secret for even three days. The secrecy was remarkable and assisted materially in helping to make the surprise and destruction of the Russians so complete. Imperfect battle formation, wasting ammunition, and marked inferiority of the Russian gunnery caused defeat.

“June 5. — Baron Rosen, the new Russian Ambassador to Washington, and his wife lunched with us *en petit comité*, the Danish Minister, Mr. de Lövenörn, Eddy, and Bliss. The Rosens are leaving on Wednesday, sailing June 28 on the Kaiser Wilhelm II. He will be much liked, I think, and is a great improvement over Cassini, who has never understood the American people or been in sympathy with them.

“Every one is in the dark as to what is to be the future policy of the Emperor here. He should call a meeting of the Representatives at once, but as usual there is procrastination, no fixed policy, and matters drifting.”

The policy for which Russia was to pay so bitter a penalty at the end of another decade is indicated in the following letter to the President: —

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, 23/5 June, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I cabled the Department June 2, in order to inform you as to the conditions and state of mind in St. Petersburg. The press here were not allowed to announce the defeat with any particulars until three days after it was known to the outside world.

It is almost impossible to obtain any authentic news as regards the conference held last week at Tsarskoë Selò. It is known that Witte, Lamsdorff, and Kokovtsoff (Minister of Finance) were not present. It is pretty well assured that the Tsar is for continuing the war and the grand Duke Vladimir for peace. However, sentiment is quite united against paying a large money indemnity to Japan, and if the Mikado insists upon anything excessive, it may end in driving almost a united Russia into supporting the Tsar in continuing the war. Peace at any price is not desired, even by those who are disgusted at the way that the bureaucracy have conducted affairs since the war broke out. When it is a matter of roubles, there is no question as to their patriotism.

I have spoken, in a previous letter, of the corruption that goes on in some of the departments. I quote the following from the *Nasha Jizn*:

“It is affirmed that in ordering ships a big commission (40 millions from a credit of 400,000,000) goes to the officials of the Navy Department; and if the question were put to the manufacturers and furnishers, ‘How much do you pay to the various persons who have to do the transmitting of orders and payments on orders?’ that would give some idea as to how many extra ships could be built.”

The paper then goes on to imply that the best means of increasing the resources of the government and strengthening

its credit and ability to pay, would be to secure expert, honest men, institute thorough supervision, publicity, and prosecution of guilty persons, without regard to their position.

In connection with the corruption above referred to, I notice that the *Kassuga* and *Nisshin*, with their long-range artillery, were the first to inflict damage to the enemy's fleet. These two armoured cruisers sank three Russian vessels and received no injury in return. The *Kassuga* and the *Nisshin* were built at Genoa for the Argentine Government, and are the vessels that Barrère had the refusal of for the Russian Government. There being no commission in it for certain Russian individuals, the sale fell through.¹ If a true history could be written of the misfortunes that have befallen Russia due to corruption and graft, the world would be astounded.

A discouraging report has got about that Monsieur Pobedonostzeff at the last moment was able to persuade the Emperor not to sign the manifesto announcing that an assembly of the representatives of the people freely elected would immediately be convoked. It is still hoped that other influence will be brought to bear. Notwithstanding the naval defeat and great loss of life, I hear the theatres have been crowded throughout the week, as though nothing had happened.

I am enclosing an article headed "What Now," which appeared in a Russian paper. It may interest you, as it refers to you, the Emperor William, and Admiral Evans.

Since writing to Mr. Hay in Paris, I have again addressed a letter to him in London, which should reach him to-day, and in which I have gone into the question of discriminating duties imposed by Mr. Witte in 1901. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, our exports to Russia were 32 millions. They could be doubled in value in a year if we could come to an understanding with Russia. They are very anxious and ready to

¹ See *ante*, p. 118.

come to some arrangement, and claim that if we will make some small concessions they will make big ones. In other words, they want to save their face. They are as stubborn as children and quite equal to doing nothing if we refuse to make any concessions whatever. The duties on machinery and tools have been advanced in the new treaty with Germany, which goes into effect the first of March, 1906; and unless we are able to come to some understanding, the discriminating duties will then be assessed on the new rates, which will probably kill American trade and Germany will be the country most benefitted. My dispatch to the Department of April 28 went into this question fully and I asked for instructions. It is nearly six weeks since I wrote, but I have not as yet received any reply. The Minister of Finance called at my residence about a week ago, and said that he realized the importance of our coming to some agreement in order to remove the restrictions on American trade, and he wished to assure me personally of his friendly feeling and willingness to do everything possible to bring about the desired results.

Every one is really in the dark as to the Emperor's future policy. Procrastination, lack of decision, no plan of action appear to be the order of the day.

Believe me,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

On the very day after the writing of this letter the Tsar was called upon, through the American Ambassador, to render an immediate decision upon a matter of supreme moment. Meyer's diary of June 6 and 7, 1905, tells in brief of the cabled instructions from President Roosevelt to seek an interview with the Emperor Nicholas II, and of the circumstances

attending the securing and the happy issue of the audience. A letter to the President, written a few days later, deals more thoroughly with this achievement of a diplomatic task of extreme delicacy:—

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *June 9, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Tuesday morning, on receipt of the cable of June 5, I hastened to the Foreign Office and was fortunate enough to catch Count Lamsdorff as he was leaving in fifteen minutes to take the train for Tsarskoë Selò. When I asked for an audience with His Majesty, he said it would be difficult to arrange for several days. I offered, if it were feasible, to go down that afternoon or evening — that at any moment I was at his command. He seemed surprised and almost offended at my urgency and replied, “You must realize that every hour of the Emperor’s time is taken up with engagements for several days, and tomorrow will be Her Majesty’s birthday; there will also be a family breakfast in the Palace, and His Majesty has never granted an audience on that day.” As time had flown and he was obliged to leave for the station, I said: “Your Excellency, will you deliver a message to His Majesty from the President?” He looked rather surprised and answered, “Yes.” Then I said, “It is this; that the President requests personally that I have an audience in order that I may lay before His Majesty a proposition which I have received this morning by cable.” His only answer was that I should have a reply before five o’clock that afternoon. At a quarter to five I received a message, that the Tsar had appointed 2 o’clock the next day (Wednesday, the birthday of the Empress!) for my audience at Tsarskoë Selò.

I called at the Foreign Office that evening and thanked

Count Lamsdorff personally for his promptitude in the matter. He assured me that a great exception had been made by the Emperor, and I assured him in turn that I appreciated it and that I realized it was out of compliment to the President.

I left St. Petersburg at one o'clock Wednesday with Baron Ramsay, Master of Ceremonies, as my escort; a private car had been attached to the train. On the way down, Ramsay said, "I understand you are going on an important mission; I hope you will be successful, but the Emperor is so weak and stubborn that I fear you have a difficult task." I said nothing. . . .

I arrived at Tsarskoë Selò shortly before two o'clock, entered the Palace by a private entrance, and was taken, without any formality, to the waiting-room adjoining the Emperor's study. Promptly at two o'clock the door of the study was opened and the Tsar came forward to meet me and received me very cordially. I thanked His Majesty in your behalf for receiving me on such a day, saying I realized it was the birthday of the Empress. He invited me at once to be seated near him at his desk.

I stated first that you felt it was of the utmost importance that war should cease, and that this was also the opinion of all outsiders, including Russia's most ardent friends. The plan that you wished to propose for his consideration was that you should privately, on your own initiative and with absolute secrecy, ask both Powers whether they would not consent to meet, without intermediaries, in order to discuss the whole peace question. If Russia would consent, the President would try to get Japan's consent, not saying that Russia had consented. Russia's answer would be kept strictly secret as well as all that had so far transpired, nothing being made public until Japan also agrees.

His Majesty said it was difficult for him to give a reply

at this time, because he felt he must ascertain what his people really wanted; he was in receipt of hundreds of letters daily, urging him to continue the war and offering money towards it. His Majesty added that he referred to the plain people as well as the nobility. He wished to be sure of what the nation really desired.

When he finished, I said: "Will Your Majesty allow me to read my instruction?" (which I had previously paraphrased). Then I proceeded, laying stress on certain points. As I got no reply, I went on and endeavoured to appeal to him. I told him I had waited several days after the naval battle before I made any decision; I had then reported to my Government that, while the shock was severe and the disappointment very great, there was no cry for peace at any price, and that I believed that, if Japan demanded absolutely unreasonable terms or excessive indemnity, His Majesty would have almost a united Russia behind him. At which the Emperor rose from his chair, started to put out his hand, and said: "That is my belief, and I think you are absolutely right." I continued, saying that I had known you for thirty years, had watched your career, that you had won the absolute confidence and respect of the people of the United States, and that what you were doing now was from the highest motives, without any ulterior motive whatsoever. He assured me that he believed it and had every confidence in you. I told him that I realized how much harder it was in adversity to make a decision contrary to one's pride and ambition, yet he would have the consolation, if he consented to your plan, of saving possibly hundreds of thousands of lives and doing in reality what was best for his people and his vast Empire, and at the same time winning the respect of the world.

I called his attention to the fact that the war was not a popular one, yet his soldiers had shown themselves brave beyond

question — that I did not believe there was any army at the moment that could stand up against the Japanese army. Why? Because they have no fear of death, but court it. Every Christian soldier, no matter how brave he may be in his heart, hopes, when the battle is over, to return to his home and family. The Japanese soldier's family glories in his death and considers it an honour.

At the present moment the internal affairs of the country required his entire attention. While it was my belief (and I had so reported) that there would be no revolution, yet there were many reforms which would come about by evolution, and which, I had seen by the Ukases, His Majesty had promised. His Empire had unbounded resources, and possibly unlimited mineral wealth which remained undeveloped and would, if war continued, remain so. No one knew better than himself how timid capital was, and how all progress and enterprise would be thwarted under present conditions. Finally, I said Russia's credit has been maintained in an extraordinary manner, as shown by the quotations of Russian bonds, as compared to United States securities during our war, or to Italy's in her war with Austria. It was an open question if Russia's Consols would not be seriously affected, as the financiers of the world were adverse to further loans if war continued; and finally, all Russia's friends honestly and seriously believed the war should end. What would have been the fate of the House of Savoy if, after the battle of Novara, when Carlo Alberto abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, had not had the courage to make peace instead of endeavouring to continue the war? The King of Italy and the Emperor of Germany had both expressed themselves to me in favour of peace.

He said, "I know that. I have a letter on my table now from Emperor William, just received, in which he tells me he so expressed himself to you." At last His Majesty said, "If it

will be absolutely secret as to my decision, should Japan decline, or until she gives her consent, I will now consent to your President's plan that we (Russia and Japan), have a meeting *without intermediaries*, in order to see if we can make peace. Do you suppose," he added, "that President Roosevelt knows, or could find out in the meantime and let us know, what Japan's terms are?"

I immediately replied that I had no means of knowing, nor did I think that the President would be willing to undertake to find them out, as that could be ascertained at the first meeting of the plenipotentiaries (without intermediaries!) of Russia and Japan.

Having accepted, he said he wanted to be informed about Japan before the President gave out the public invitation, after having gained the assent of both countries. He then went on to say to me that "You have come at a psychological moment: as yet no foot has been placed on Russian soil; but I realize that at almost any moment they can make an attack on Sakhaline. Therefore it is important that the meeting should take place before that occurs."

This gave me the opportunity to say to him that, as days, or even hours, might be an important factor, if he was willing to trust President Roosevelt, it would be better not to put any conditions as to your giving out the public invitation after you had secretly obtained the consent of the two nations. His Majesty agreed to this, laying stress on the importance of secrecy, and on the fact that the whole movement for peace was on your initiative; he was evidently anxious that the world should not in any way, even for a moment, think that the idea had emanated from Russia.

His Majesty was also relieved and pleased that your proposition distinctly said that the Plenipotentiaries of both Russia and Japan should meet without intermediaries.

My audience had already lasted an hour, and having gained his consent without any conditions other than those in your instructions, contrary to all customs I asked leave, before His Majesty made the move, to depart in order to cable at once to Washington, fearing that on further consideration the Tsar might make some changes in the plan. The Emperor then shook hands warmly and said with some feeling: "Say to your President I certainly hope that the old friendship which has previously existed and united the two nations for so long a period will be renewed. I realize that whatever difference has arisen is due to the press, and in no way to your Government." While the Emperor is not a man of force, I was impressed with his self-possession.

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

The press of the world was soon ringing with the accomplishment of the American plan to bring Russia and Japan to an understanding upon which peace might be restored. Washington, Tokyo, and St. Petersburg became the spots on the surface of the globe on which the eyes of mankind were most solicitously fixed — St. Petersburg, perhaps, first of all, for the reason that Russia, virtually defeated, was under the rule of a weak, obstinate, and ill-advised autocrat who might at any moment frustrate the good work of others. There was no telling what a day might bring forth. In Meyer's diary and letters the progress of events was completely recorded by one in a position of rare advantage to observe them. As a contribution to the annals of a critical epoch in international affairs these records for about three months

after the interview with the Tsar which has just been described may be presented in some fulness.

“*June 8.* — Considerable interest and excitement over my visit to Tsarskoë Selò to see the Emperor, as it is known that President Roosevelt has taken the initiative in order to bring about peace if possible.

“Called on the German Ambassador and told him that I was *not* at liberty to repeat the conversation which I had had with the Emperor (Nicholas II), yet he might wire Emperor William and say that he would receive word from Washington and that I was very hopeful.

“I refused to-day to see any members of the press, saying that matters were in too delicate a state to say anything.

“Played polo this afternoon and enjoyed getting some out-door exercise and air.

“*June 9.* — Received two cables from the State Department — one stated that Japan had consented to *pourparlers* with Russia without intermediaries, and that I was to notify the Foreign Office to that effect at once and cable as soon as I had done so, in order that the President may be in the position now to make public invitation to both Russia and Japan. This was attended to at 11 A.M. The other cable was to thank the Tsar for his expression of good will and wishes that the old friendship between the United States and Russia should be restored, etc. Lamsdorff suggested that I write an autograph letter to the Tsar, conveying the expressions of the President, which he would hand to H.M. at 4 P.M. It was so arranged,

as Lamsdorff said it would only excite surprise and envy of the other members of the Diplomatic Corps.

"*June 10.* — It was announced in the press today that the President had publicly invited representatives of Russia and Japan to meet, in order to see if they could agree on peace. This was done in this way according to agreement, although Russia and Japan had already both agreed privately that they would do so. This is a great victory for the President, who has brought this about by his own initiative. The press and the diplomats had been very skeptical about it all. It now rests with Japan and Russia if they can come to an agreement, as they are to meet without intermediaries.

"*June 11.* — Received cable this morning from Department in Washington, saying Cassini had asked to see my dispatch, as he thought I had misinterpreted the Tsar! The State Department refused to let him see it, on the ground that it was the office of his Government to inform him or not as they saw fit. This was jealousy on his part because he had not been used to transmit the knowledge and information. They notified [me] merely because he might try to embarrass situation. German Emperor sent me a message through his Ambassador that he was very pleased with what had been accomplished by me and that he was hopeful of the outcome. Alvensleben also said that Lamsdorff had [said] that the meeting of Russia and Japan was assured. Cabled this to my Government, and also that there was no sign of any hitch in negotiations.

“*June 12.* — Associated Press and Reuter’s Agency started a story to-day that, while Japan had agreed to meet and name plenipotentiaries, Russia would only name representatives who would not have full powers but merely to hear what Japan had to say. They also implied that Russia was holding back, and that there were likely to be obstacles as to a meeting. While this was going on, received the formal acceptance from the Foreign Office, in which they agreed with Japan to name plenipotentiaries. That naturally killed the rumours.

“The British Ambassador and Lady Hardinge dined with us — also Eddy, Foster, Csekonics, and Franckenstein.¹

“Cabled the Government the text of Russian answer.

“Hardinge told me of a secret *dossier* he had seen (dated the same day that the Japs attacked Port Arthur), which showed that the Russian fleet was to attack if they, the Japs, crossed the 38th degree.

“*June 13.* — The German Ambassador, von Alvensleben, called on me this morning, to know if it was true that the Russians were unwilling to name or call their delegates plenipotentiaries. Assured him there was no truth in it, that I had the Russian answer and they had agreed to name plenipotentiaries. Asked him to notify the Emperor of this confidentially.

“The French Ambassador called after lunch; said it was his first call since his return from Paris, and that he came to get posted and to say his Govern-

¹ Attaché of the Austrian Embassy.

ment was in accord and ready to assist towards peace in any way that they could.

"*June 16.* — Received cable this A.M. from State Department, instructing me to see Lamsdorff and notify him that cable was received too late about The Hague,¹ as Washington had been agreed upon, Cassini having stated that it was agreeable to his government; Japan also having assented, it had been publicly announced that Washington was chosen; that the President could not now reverse his decision, as Japan would probably not consent. Lamsdorff said that he much preferred The Hague to Washington for many reasons — too far, too hot, and they were changing Ambassadors. I claimed their action extraordinary in trying to make the President reverse his decision after their representative had consented to it; also dangerous. Lamsdorff to consult the Tsar and cable Cassini.

"*June 17.* — Received a cable signed by the President instructing me to see Minister of Foreign Affairs and explain that Washington had been decided upon with consent of the Russian and Japanese representatives in Washington, and that the President had announced it to the public. As far as he was concerned, the incident was closed and he could not reverse his action. If the Foreign Office did not acquiesce, I was to take the matter before the Emperor himself. I had quite a heated argument with Lamsdorff, and made him acknowledge that Cassini had been instructed, with the consent of the Tsar, to

¹ The Russian Government had tried to transfer the Peace Conference finally held at Portsmouth, N. H., to The Hague, from Washington, which had first been agreed upon.

accept Washington. Now he, Lamsdorff, wanted to reconsider. I told him it was too late. If he was unwilling to stand by Cassini's instructions, I should have to take it before the Tsar. This did not please him; however, he agreed to send my memo of instructions to the Emperor that afternoon and let me know his decision.

"*June 18.* — At 12.30 A.M. sent a cable to the President, having received a note from Lamsdorff saying that the Emperor made no objection to Washington as the place of meeting of the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Japan. The note read as follows: 'Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, Je m'empresse d'informer Votre Excellence que Sa Majesté l'Empereur ne voit aucune obstacle au choix de Washington pour la réunion et les pourparlers des Plénipotentiaires Russes et Japonais. Je viens de télégraphier dans ce sens au Count Cassini. — Mille hommages très sincères. — (Signed) LAMSDORFF.'

"Why could he not say simply he agrees to Washington? The Foreign Office cannot write a straightforward direct letter — it is contrary to the habit of the Bureaucracy."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *Sunday, June 18, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

At midnight last night I received a letter from Count Lamsdorff informing me of the Emperor's decision. I ordered out my automobile, going to the cable office myself and getting off the dispatch at 12.30 A.M., repeating in French the con-

tents of the note. Lamsdorff also added: "I have just telegraphed in the same sense to Count Cassini."

In wording a note Lamsdorff is never able to be emphatic and straightforward. The statement that he gave out for the press in answer to your invitation, and which was printed in the *Official Messenger*, caused some criticism, the diplomats not knowing that the Tsar had previously assured me at Tsarskoë Selò that Russia would accept, and [that] if Japan accepted also, you were to go through the form of a public invitation, and in the event of their refusal, everything that transpired was to be kept secret. The attitude of the Foreign Office in its communication is absolutely different from the tone of the Tsar, and is undoubtedly for effect on the public and a foolish endeavour to save their face.

Yesterday and the day before I had two heated discussions with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. However, as we carry them on in French, it makes them seem always more polite. The fact that you cabled me the Lamsdorff instructions to Cassini was a great assistance, because I could not get it out of him the day before, when he implied that Cassini had made a mistake and gone beyond his instructions. I said it was time that he recalled Cassini at once, if the President could not rely on what he said. I could not make Lamsdorff realize that, after Washington had been decided upon, it was outrageous of him endeavouring to force you to reverse your action, your decision having been made on the instructions to Cassini and which I compelled him to acknowledge had been approved by the Tsar. Even then he said: "Why should we not reconsider, as The Hague is better for many reasons?" As it made no impression on him that Japan had refused and you had announced it to the world, I was obliged to tell him that in America when we gave our word we abided by it, and that if he did not decide to abide by Washington, I should be compelled

to carry it personally before the Emperor. This did not meet with his view at all, and he answered that it was not customary for the Emperor to give audiences weekly to an Ambassador.

I have discovered that the bureaucracy was not at all pleased that I was able to carry through so quickly with the Emperor the question of accepting your invitation; and as I have been up against them the last two days, I realize now how the Emperor is hampered and how much is kept from him.

While Lamsdorff practically intimated that he would not ask for an audience until he had a reply from Cassini in answer to his cable, he realized that unless, in the end, he gave a decision in favour of Washington, I should demand the privilege in your name of taking the matter before the Tsar. So it finally was agreed that he would send a copy of my instructions to the Emperor that same day, and he would immediately write me the Emperor's decision, although the formal reply would be forwarded by Cassini.

We parted finally on excellent terms, he adding: "I am not accustomed to be hustled so, and cannot see the need of such terrible haste!"

The English Ambassador told me confidentially last night that, in his talk that afternoon at the Foreign Office, Lamsdorff had said to him that, if he only knew whom Japan was going to appoint as plenipotentiary, it would be of great assistance to him in deciding whom to name as plenipotentiaries to represent Russia. For instance, if Ito is to be sent by Japan, he would appoint as Russia's first representative Witte. This would be an excellent appointment, as it would strengthen the commission before the world. The Minister of Foreign Affairs also stated that his idea was to have a bouquet of three, as he called it: Witte, Nelidow as a diplomat, and a general to represent the army, who would be broad-minded and fair in his ideas.

Nelidow was a colleague of mine at Rome. I hope he will

not be appointed, as he is too old and nervous, and is the present Ambassador at Paris. He made a mess in Rome of the Tsar's failure to return the visit of the King and handled it in such a way that it gave umbrage to the King and the Italian people, and he and Ouroussow exchanged their posts only because the King of Italy sent word that Nelidow was no longer *persona grata*.

Rosen would really be a much better man, as I understand Japan thinks well of him and he has a great respect for them; but Lamsdorff does not want to name him if he can help it, the Foreign Office feeling a little sore with him as he is in a position to say: "I told you so!"

June 20.

Yesterday the Emperor gave an audience to a deputation of fourteen earnest representative men from all parts of the country. I think it was very advantageous both to the Tsar and to the deputation, as they were much impressed by his reply. I cabled details to the Department to-day.

This afternoon at three o'clock Lamsdorff telephoned for me to come and see him surely before five. I got to the Foreign Office at four o'clock. The result of my interview and his suggestions and requests I cabled at once in full to the Department. It was evident from his whole tone that the Emperor had taken the matter finally in charge himself, and that he was acting under direct instructions. I am thankful that they have waked up to the necessity of prompt action. I only trust that they have not delayed too long.

Believe me,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

For the remainder of June the diary was filled with entries about the choice of Russian plenipotentiaries



MRS. GEORGE VON Lengerke MEYER

and the many cables that passed between Meyer and the State Department on this and related subjects. On the 25th he wrote, more personally, "The 20th anniversary of my wedding day — a happy day for me — I have had more than my share of blessings, a good wife, and a charming family." On the 26th appears one of several items of the same kind: "Played polo in the afternoon — could not live here if I did not get this exercise." The grave state of Russia, clearly foreshadowing its disasters under the strain of a general war, is constantly observed.

"*June 29.* — Mutiny in Odessa. The crew takes possession of a man-of-war, kills several of the officers and imprisons the rest. The harbour of Odessa is practically destroyed by fire. This is very serious, as it may spread to the rest of the fleet which has been ordered from Sebastopol. The men-of-war in the harbour of Odessa threaten to fire on the town if they are attacked. It is difficult to get authentic news, as there is a strict censorship.

"Go out to call after dinner on the Swedish Consul, who has a charming place opposite to Belosselsky's.

"*June 30.* — The Marines in Libau revolted, burnt their barracks, — six companies in all, — and then went to a wood outside of the town, where they have been surrounded by troops. Their complaint was bad food — same as on the man-of-war. It looks as though there was concerted action between the men of the Black Sea and those of the Baltic.

"Get a communication from Lamsdorff saying that

the Tsar had appointed Mouravieff, former Minister of Justice and now Ambassador at Rome, in place of Nelidow, as First Plenipotentiary, Rosen as Second Plenipotentiary, and that they reserved the right to appoint delegates who might talk on special Eastern subjects as experts.

"At midnight received a second communication saying that now that the time and place of meeting had been decided upon, also the Plenipotentiaries, he begged me to communicate with the President, following out his ideas, and ascertain if the Japanese did not consider that there were grounds for an armistice, and that the matter might be arranged directly between the Commanders-in-Chief of the two armies.

"The sailors that mutinied on the Knyáz-Potemkin have complete possession of the battleship. They compelled a vessel loaded with coal to give up half her cargo. They pointed the guns on the town, and then went ashore and buried the sailor that the officer shot — carrying the motto on a red flag, 'All for one and one for all'; then they returned to the vessel and are awaiting the arrival of the fleet from Sebastopol. It is feared that the mutiny may spread to the other vessels, as this has been organized by the Socialists.

"*July 1.* — Received the sudden and sad news of Mr. Hay's death. He had lately returned from Mannheim, and it was supposed the cure had reestablished his health. I received a letter from him in Paris, dated June 1, in which he seemed in excellent spirits. He took up the Department's work at Washington, June 20, for a week, and then went to his place in

New Hampshire, where he died. The President, the nation, and the world lose an able statesman and an upright man who believed in speaking the truth in diplomacy.

"Alice and the family left at 6 o'clock for Paris. I shall miss them fearfully, but it is a relief to have them out of the country, as affairs begin to look very bad again. The German Ambassador, Swiss Minister, and several diplomats come down to see them off."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, 18/1 July, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

The troubles at Lodz, Odessa, and Libau look very serious, especially in the last two places. I am unable to get detailed information as yet, on account of the strict censorship, but the fact that the sailors on board the Knyáz-Potemkin mutinied, killed several of the officers, and took possession of the ship, and about the same time the marines in Libau rebelled and destroyed their barracks, gives the appearance of concerted action between the men of the Black Sea fleet and those of the Baltic.

The danger is that these actions and doings may prove an example and suggest possibilities to the soldiers. As yet I have heard of no disloyalty among the troops.

The prevarications, misrepresentations, and procrastinations that go on in the Foreign Office would have seriously tried the patience of Job. The Emperor no sooner makes an advance or a step in the right direction than immediately its force is weakened by a communication to the press from the Foreign Office, or obstacles are put up by the bureaucracy in the way of dilatory tactics. For example, nothing was plainer and

clearer than the Emperor's acceptance of your invitation, there being no condition other than secrecy if Japan declined; yet the note from Lamsdorff, with a tone of superior indifference, was foreign to the Emperor's acceptance. As another instance of bureaucratic ways, when the Emperor, on the 19th of June, received the committee of fourteen, representatives of different parts of Russia, the Tsar declared his firm intention to summon a national representative assembly. He also said: "I hope from this day forward that the relations between me and my people will enter upon a new phase." All this was modified in St. Petersburg when printed, and the text of the speeches altered so as to conform with less advanced ideas, the bureaucracy not relishing the tenor of the Peterhof speeches. The *Russ*, a St. Petersburg journal, was suppressed for a month, the offense consisting in publishing the text of the Zemstvo address, which, although it was received by the Emperor, is considered by the bureaucracy an illegal document, because it was passed and adopted by an unauthorized gathering.

The Emperor is somewhat in the position that a weak, but honest mayor might be in in New York, with Tammany in absolute control, the difference being that the Emperor can remove any one instantly without any reasons or excuses, but unfortunately he lacks the force; yet I believe his intentions are honest and well-meant, but he is surrounded by men who are not in sympathy with needed reform, nor are they to be relied upon.

On account of the illiteracy in Russia, it will take a generation to raise the standard of citizenship. What is needed is primary schools in the country and town districts, trial by jury, freedom of the press, and a national representative assembly.

From the cables that I sent off to the Department early this morning, it will be seen that the Foreign Office has finally

waked up to the necessity of action and the great desirability of an armistice. The Tsar recognized it the day he accepted your invitation, when I was at Tsarskoë Selò; yet two weeks ago I urged upon Lamsdorff the necessity of appointing plenipotentiaries promptly and arranging with as little delay as possible all preliminaries.

The appointment of Mouravieff I hope will turn out to be a good one. The German Ambassador told me before it was decided that he considered him to be the best man that they had in the diplomatic service. He is also spoken of as the future Minister of Foreign Affairs, to succeed Lamsdorff.

Believe me,

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

“*July 2.* — Received a cable from the President at 8.30 A.M., in which he announces both countries having agreed to the plenipotentiaries. He will announce that they have been appointed as with full powers to make a treaty of peace, the same to be ratified by the home governments.

“As to an armistice, which Lamsdorff asked the President to take up, they object to the idea that they are asking this of Japan, but only personally of the President, for his advice and action if possible. I cabled this to the President and asked him to keep secret whatever they do. It is a small point and the distinction typically Russian, always trying to save their face.

“*July 3.* — Cabled early this morning the names

of the five special delegates whom the Tsar has appointed, saying that he did this showing that he wanted to make a lasting agreement. They will accompany the First Plenipotentiary.

“Cabled the President that heretofore I have thought Revolution improbable, but the events of the last week (the increasing strikes, the disturbances at Lodz, the Marines revolting at Libau, the successful mutiny at Odessa, which resulted in the officers being killed and the vessel, *Potemkin*, battleship, captured), have entirely changed the aspect of affairs. Should Japan refuse an armistice and inflict a defeat on the Russian army, impossible to foretell event, due to the public state of mind and the incompetency of the Government.

“*July 4.* — Had no celebration to-day on account of Mr. Hay’s death. Received a cable from the President, saying that he had notified Japan that proposition for an armistice came from him and not from Russia. He had also notified Japan of the five delegates named, giving the names.

“The mutiny on board the *Potemkin* took place during the manœuvre of the fleet, when the sailors complained of the soup and said that they could not eat it. The officers ordered those who could eat it to stand on one side. These outnumbered the complainants, but the latter ran for the guns. The officer ordered the men to shoot at the mutinous crew, and they refused. The officer then fired his pistol, and was killed by the crew. They also shot the Captain as he came out of his cabin, and hunted down the offi-

cers like rats, and even the men who refused to take part.

“*July 5.* — Mr. Hay buried to-day.

“The Potemkin put into the port of Roumania and demanded provisions and coal, which were not granted. They have given out (the crew) a proclamation that they are at war with Russia, that foreign vessels will not be touched or attacked. It seemed they notified the foreign vessels to move out of the harbour of Odessa, where they are in danger of their storming and firing on the city.

“*July 7.* — Battleship Potemkin still at large in the Black Sea. What an example to Russian Navy and Army!

“Busy all day writing dispatches for the pouch which leaves to-morrow *via* Berlin.

“Receive an important letter from the President; very confidential, and shows conclusive reason why Russia for her own good should make peace. Shall endeavour to get this to the Emperor’s attention, but will be difficult.

“*July 8.* — Yacht Greta arrives, with Mr. and Mrs. C. L. F. Robinson, Miss Robins, Stuyvy LeRoy, Frank Griswold. They have been at the Kiel Regatta. Robinson said that the Emperor sent his regards to me, and also the message that he was sorry that this summer he would not be at Bergen to entertain my wife and children.

“Send a confidential letter dated to-day, on the situation here, to the President in the pouch by our special messenger *via* Berlin.”

To President Roosevelt

¹ ST. PETERSBURG, July 8, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

In acknowledging your letter of the 19th of June, which came to hand last evening, I want at the same time to assure you how much I appreciate what you said.

Now as to Russia and peace, I think the Emperor really desires it, but your arguments are so clear and conclusive, and you strike the nail so squarely on the head, that I desire to bring your letter to the Tsar's attention, if possible without Lamsdorff's assistance, as he is tricky and not absolutely reliable. It is about as difficult to see the Emperor as it is the Sultan. The Foreign Office and some of the members of the bureaucracy have not yet got over the fact that the Tsar accepted your invitation on the basis of your cablegram without referring the matter to them.

I cabled you confidentially July 3 the state of internal affairs, as they were very serious. I find that some of the Russians that I know have returned from their country places, realizing that it is no longer safe for them, which shows that the peasants are being affected. The condition of the Black Sea fleet is lamentable and pitiable, and if mutiny once spreads to the army, the present dynasty is doomed.

The Tsar promises reforms and the bureaucracy puts up hindrances and delays, and the worst of all is the prospect of further delay. However, since the marines rebelled at Libau, and the sailors of the Black Sea fleet mutinied at Odessa, it has finally dawned on almost all the officials (though they may not express it openly), that peace is a necessity, especially as the last mobilization of troops has proven so unpopular, that in St. Petersburg they have discontinued it and have sent many of the men back to their various occupations.

What is needed most of all, as I said in my last dispatch

to the Department, is a régime of discussion, publicity, and action, in place of mystery, duplicity, and inaction.

Ten days ago I dined with a certain Russian Prince who is an aide-de-camp of the Emperor and a great favourite. Thinking that it would get to the Emperor's ear, I took this opportunity to call the Prince's attention to the tone that the Foreign Office had assumed in their communications concerning the Peace Conference, and stated that Japan had made capital with all the powers by her straightforward, frank, and manly responses. A few days later I noticed a marked change in Lamsdorff and a decided anxiety for an armistice; and then came the communication (July 3) from the Foreign Office, in which it said that: "The Emperor, as an evidence of his sincere desire to come to a lasting agreement between Russia and Japan, and in view of the importance of the negotiations to be opened at Washington, has named as special delegates, etc., etc.," which is the first flat-footed statement that I have received from the Foreign Office.

Believe me, Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

"*July 9.* — The papers say that the Japanese are attacking Sakhaline. It would be unfortunate for the Russians should they lose this island before the Plenipotentiaries meet.

"Mouravieff, Ambassador to Rome, and now First Plenipotentiary for the Peace Conference, arrives in St. P.

"It is reported that the Potemkin has surrendered in a Roumanian port, and the crew gone on shore.

"*July 11.* — Receive cable from State Department, saying that the President sends me word that he does not believe he will be able to arrange an armistice with Japan before the Plenipotentiaries meet (August 1), partly on account of the unfortunate reading of Lamsdorff's *communiqué*, given to press about the Plenipotentiaries and the acceptance of the invitation for them to meet. Called on Lamsdorff at 10 A.M. by appointment. He did not enjoy my referring to his so-called unfortunate *communiqué*; said Japan was only using that as an excuse: she really wanted to go on improving her position until the last moment. He again added that the wording he used in his *communiqué* should not have been misunderstood, as he only used, 'if Japan desires it,' as Russia did not know, officially, then, or was not supposed to, what Japan would say, and [it] could not be done without her consent. He promised to show a confidential letter I had received from the President to the Tsar. To my mind Lamsdorff expressed his *communiqué* to give a false impression to the public.

"*July 12.* — De Witte has been appointed First Plenipotentiary in place of Mouravieff — an excellent move.

"*July 13.* — Cabled the State Department of the appointment of de Witte in place of Mouravieff, who is not in good health. Also sent a cable at noon quoting the Edict of the Emperor in which he appoints Admiral Birileff Secretary of the Marine; speaks of the serious lack of discipline among the officers and the grave events which have taken place in the Black

Sea fleet, and asks his assistance to bring the Navy up to a proper basis and stand.

“*July 14.* — The Japanese are continuing the conquest of Sakhaline by changing the names of the capes and towns. Evidently they want to make it an assured fact that it is Japanese territory before the meeting of the Conference at Washington.

“Heretofore the Russians have prided themselves on the fact that the Japs had not put a foot on Russian soil.

“*July 16.* — Witte called on me this afternoon at 4 o'clock. He impressed me as a man of force and character. He spoke most frankly and directly, more so than any man that I have met in Russia. He said that he had been adverse to the war from the first and had been for peace.

“*July 17.* — A beautiful summer's day, everything seemed so peaceful. One does not imagine that bombs are being made in almost any house, and that the country is at war with Japan, and internal strife going on among the workmen, Jews, and reactionists.”

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *July 18, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

A week ago to-day I sent for the same aide-de-camp that I have before spoken of, and who was staying with the Tsar, to come and see me, as I wanted him to know, in order that he might inform the Emperor, that I was giving your letter the next morning to Lamsdorff to carry to Peterhof.

I had heard that Mouravieff's health and indisposition might

prevent his going to Washington. Therefore it was of the utmost importance that the Emperor should realize the necessity of appointing their best man in place of Mouravieff. I felt nothing would bring it so forcibly before him as your letter to me. It is only fair to Lamsdorff to say that he had wanted Witte from the first.

Two days later Witte was appointed, and I have a strong feeling that your note was instrumental in assisting to bring this about. The naming of Witte as First Plenipotentiary has had a marked effect in this country, and has given a feeling of confidence as to the manner in which the *pourparlers* will be carried on with Japan. It is recognized as a decided move in favour of peace by the English and Continental press.

Witte came and called on me yesterday afternoon, and I cabled to the Department my impressions. I also arranged an interview with him for the Associated Press representative, Mr. Thompson, which will be published this week. Witte did not hesitate to tell me that he had been opposed to the war from the first and had counselled making peace on two previous occasions. He said, however, it must be understood that he was going as the representative of the Tsar, and should work under his instructions to the best of his ability to bring about peace. Therefore everything depended upon whether the Japanese would offer such terms as could be accepted. He added that he did not understand why Japan was not willing to announce the basis on which peace should be considered before their meeting in Washington. He regretted extremely that Marquis Ito was not to be in America, as he had a great admiration and respect for him and felt that they could have come to some understanding within an hour. Whatever the result may be, he expressed great pleasure in having the opportunity to visit America.

I am enclosing translation of an article from the *Novoe*

Vremya, which is always hostile to the United States, entitled: "The Secret Alliance between America and Japan."

Poland continues in a state of unrest, and an increased number of bombs are constantly being found by the police in the various cities of Russia.

Believe me, Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

July 19.

P. S. Mouravieff's inability and unwillingness to serve, for various reasons, developed so rapidly that there was not sufficient time for me to arrange for a private audience with the Emperor. Therefore I gave your letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It reached the desired destination and was returned next day with thanks by Count Lamsdorff. I called on Witte yesterday afternoon, in order to wish him success and *bon voyage*; he told me that the Emperor was writing a letter to you which he would be charged to carry.

Personally I am much relieved that Mouravieff is not to serve. You may remember his address at The Hague, which gave great offense to the Japanese.

The papers have just come to hand with your speech at Commencement (Cambridge). I was very glad you spoke as you did concerning the standard which the lawyer and business man should take. Since the disgraceful disclosure of the Equitable, a campaign of education as to business morals and standards seems to be as necessary as was at one time the campaign of education for an honest dollar. What gain has the nation made if the standard of men holding positions of trust has been lowered and debased?

G. v. L. M.

[*Diary*]

“*July 21.* — Received interesting letter from President Roosevelt, in which, among other things, he told me that one of the last things John Hay told him was ‘that he was very glad that I had made such a success of my mission to St. Petersburg.’ Wrote to the President about Witte and the good impression which it had made everywhere (his appointment as First Plenipotentiary). The Russians are putting up a tremendous bluff about wanting the war to go on, but with the condition of internal affairs, there is but one thing for Russia to do, — make peace before it is too late. If they do not do so, I cannot foretell what the outcome will be.

“*July 22.* — Reports have come through the foreign papers of the condition of the Russian fleet as reported by Rodjestvensky and Nebogatoff. It is said that the armour plate was not of required thickness, many shells did not burst, and the crews on some of the vessels under Nebogatoff mutinied and refused to fight. He was obliged to train his guns on some (two) of the ships to make them fight. On these two vessels lots of ammunition was found. Rodjestvensky had hoped to slip through the straits in the fog, but it lifted two hours too soon.

“*July 23.* — Passed the day with Csekronics at the Wishaw, very attractive place near Strelina. Rained so that we could not play tennis.

“Went from there to Tsarskoë to dine with the d’Aehrenthals. He told me that the Tsar had gone over

on his yacht to the Swedish coast to have a conference with the German Emperor.¹ The yacht left Peterhof at 10 A.M. He had with him Grand Duke Michel Alexander, the Minister of the Marine, Baron Fredericks, and German Naval Attaché, Captain Hintze. Has created much interest.

"The disturbances expected to-day did not take place, everything quiet.

"*July 24.* — As to the conference between the two Emperors. It is thought by some it referred to internal affairs, by others that Russia is not pleased with the French Alliance, since she [France] refused to continue to loan her money last winter, and also looks with doubt at the new alliance between France and England. Therefore, it may be on the cards for Germany and Russia to come to some agreement.

"*July 25.* — The Tsar is returning to-day from his audience with the German Emperor. Alvensleben, the German Ambassador, called on me to-day to say that he knew nothing about it until last Saturday, the day before the Tsar started. It is cruel that they do not keep him posted, and very embarrassing, as it belittles him among his colleagues.

"*July 26.* — Receive word from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Lamsdorff, that he will not be able to receive the Diplomatic Corps. I hear he has

¹ See *American Historical Review*, October, 1918, for article "Kaiser and Tsar, 1904-5," dealing with Tsar's conference at Björke, and the secret treaty between the two Emperors, aimed at solidifying Germany and Russia, at the instance of the Kaiser, against France and England—a treaty subsequently annulled by the Foreign Ministers of Prussia and Germany. See also "The Willy-Nicky Correspondence," by Herman Bernstein (1918).

had another of his fainting fits — I am afraid that some day they will carry him off.

“The papers continue to guess what was the cause of the meeting between the Kaiser and the Emperor.

“*July 27.* — The fog between Southampton and Cherbourg prevented the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse from reaching Cherbourg yesterday. She, however, got to Cherbourg to-day and Witte sailed at 1.30. The Japanese plenipotentiaries are already in America, as usual, always ahead of the Russians.

“*July 30.* — Lunch at the British Embassy at 1 o'clock. Baring¹ and Lord Cranley² were there. We discussed the chances of peace. I think Sir Charles³ believes it very doubtful.

“I said, unless ‘the gods have made them mad’ they will make peace for three reasons: 1st. The bankers will give them no more money if they continue the war; 2nd. The internal disturbances require their attention — entire; 3rd. The Japanese have an army of two men for every Russian.

“*July 31.* — The Russians, it seems, fear that eventually Norway, Sweden, and Denmark will make an alliance, so that Russia in the Baltic will be in the same position as they are in the Black Sea. Meantime, however, it looks as though the union of Norway and Sweden would be dissolved without bloodshed, although Sweden feels it keenly. Some think that the Kaiser wanted to talk Norway over with the Tsar, on

¹ Hon. Maurice Baring of the British Embassy at Rome while Meyer was there.

² Third Secretary of the British Embassy.

³ Sir Charles Hardinge, British Ambassador, Viceroy of India, 1910-16.

the possibility of a Prince of Hohenzollern being put on the throne.

"*August 1.* — It appears that an important conference is going on at Peterhof, at which the Emperor is presiding. Grand Duke Vladimir, Michel, and all the important ministers are present. They have taken up the Bulygin report, and are considering the question of a national assembly and certain reforms. The Emperor and Grand Dukes went on record as favouring reforms and a National Assembly. But Lamsdorff and certain ministers against. It is evident why they are against it, as they do not want to have interrogation as to their action and administration.

"Receive letter from Groton School that 'Bey' must be reëxamined in September in Algebra and English. Cable Alice to arrange for lessons at once."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 1, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I beg leave to acknowledge your kind letter of July 7, and to assure you how much I value the words said to you by the late John Hay. Both you and the country are fortunate to be able to command the services of such a man as Elihu Root.

The Moscow Congress has attracted great interest and attention throughout the country, — even more than the war for the moment, — and it has already resulted in a tentative promise from the Tsar to give more land to the peasants, and the government scheme of a national assembly is being revised on a more liberal basis than Bulygin proposed. The longer the Tsar delays, the greater will be the reforms which he will finally have to grant.

St. Petersburg is practically a bureaucratic city, and it is the last place to realize the requirements of the country or the demands of the people.

The sudden and unexpected meeting of the Emperors on July 24 threw the Continental press almost into hysterics. The English diplomats here were much aroused, being suspicious of the Kaiser's motives, one going so far as to say it was another case of the Krüger telegram. The French saw a second Morocco incident. The Austrians shook their heads, but thought the Kaiser desired to warn the Tsar against making too great concessions to the reformers or revolutionists. The French press, in some instances, feared it would result in lessening the chances of peace, as the Tsar would not be less willing to make concessions, having German support, while, on the other hand, some English correspondents pointed out that it was an attempt for a Russian-French-German alliance on Eastern affairs. And so it ran. But now the excitement has passed off and the nervousness has disappeared. The German Ambassador called on me and assured me that the meeting had been arranged by the Emperors themselves; that twenty-four hours before the Tsar left, he knew nothing about it. His naval attaché had reported that the conference had been satisfactory and agreeable. He did not consider that it meant any change of policy, or that it was of any great importance, other than that he knew that his Emperor was very much in favour of peace and therefore he believed it could not but be beneficial in that respect.

Lately, in Paris, a part of the press and some of the politicians not members of the government, have intimated that the Franco-Russian alliance had been very expensive to France and was losing its usefulness; but as soon as the Emperors met and they imagined Germany was trying for an alliance with Russia, the tone instantly changed and statements were made

everywhere in France that the alliance between Russia and France was as strong as ever.

General Barry¹ has written me from Manchuria of the necessity of a military attaché in St. Petersburg at the present time, for the reason that a great deal of the information required can be obtained much more easily and better at the War Office in St. Petersburg, where the reports are now being received and filed, than in the field. He has sent a long list of items required for information from the War Office. Now Captain Mott supplements this with an additional list from Paris. I have written to the State Department endorsing General Barry's recommendation and urging the assignment of a military attaché here. It is of great importance that he should speak French.

When this reaches you, the world will probably know definitely whether Russia and Japan are to come to terms. I sincerely hope that this may be brought about, for the reason that, if war continues, I have grave doubts as to the future outcome of events in this country.

Believe me, ¹ Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

P.S. While there is undoubtedly a great deal of bluff going on, in order if possible to affect Japan, there is still, incomprehensible as it may appear to you, quite a war party. Prince Hohenlohe, the Austrian military attaché, tells me he has talked with several of the old generals, who labour under the delusion that their army has a chance of victory under Linevich. Only yesterday a petition was received by the Emperor from the clergy and people of five districts of the Orenburg Government (representing 38,000 people), asking him not to sign a dis-

¹ Maj.-Gen. T. H. Barry, U. S. A., and other American army officers, had recently passed through St. Petersburg, where the Tsar had received them, on their way to the front as observers.

graceful peace. I fear that all this may have quite an effect on the Emperor and very little on the Japanese.

G. v. L. M.

[*Diary*]

“*August 3.* — Send cable to Washington on the present conditions and state of affairs. The war party have been doing a good deal in order to influence the Emperor to continue the war, petitions coming from the officers of the army, from different towns, and from even the clergy in some instances! Also the reformers and so-called revolutionists would prefer to see peace postponed for a while, because they think that in the present condition of affairs they can force the calling of a national assembly, and at a very early date. On the other hand, if peace was declared, it would postpone the assembly and the needed reform. It is not that they are against peace, but want reforms more.

“*August 5.* — Call at the Ministry of Finance. Timiriaseff informed me that Russia was favourably disposed to accept the proposition of the United States to make a commercial agreement under Section 3 of the Act of 1897; this to be used as a bridge to cross, and that in anticipation of this agreement he favoured the abolition of the discriminating duties against the United States, not in the next few days, but very soon, as they did not wish to appear to be influencing American opinion during the *pourparlers* for peace.

“The Plenipotentiaries are to be received by the President to-day on the government yacht *Mayflower*,

and presented to each other. Cabled the President that I had received the information that the Tsar had signed a constitution.

“August 6. — Met the British Ambassador, Sir Charles Hardinge, coming from church as I was going to the Chancery. He returned with me and we compared notes as to the situation and the chances of peace. I claimed that if, as the French papers were saying, it dated from the time that the German Emperor and Tsar met, and it was based on the Emperor William having advised the Tsar not to make peace, then it was nonsense and the movement against peace was bluff on the part of the Russians; but, unfortunately, it would not affect the Japanese, and might unfortunately affect the Tsar against peace. We both agreed that the outlook for peace was a little better.

“August 7. — Courier arrives from Berlin with pouch and letters from President Roosevelt dated July 18. Cable Washington that the reformists were so confident of getting a national assembly that they now no longer were opposed to peace, and had even urged the Tsar to make peace.

“The President is receiving praise from all sources on the manner in which he received the plenipotentiaries on board the yacht Mayflower at Oyster Bay on Saturday, August 5. He gave the following toast which he said was not to be answered: ‘Gentlemen, I propose a toast to which there will be no answer, and which I ask you to honour in silence and standing. I drink to the welfare and prosperity of the sovereigns and peoples of the two great nations whose representa-

tives have met one another on this ship. It is my most earnest wish and prayer, in the interest of not only these two great Powers, but of all mankind, that a just and lasting peace may speedily be concluded between them.'

"*August 8.* — Witte continues to be received with enthusiasm in America. He has made an excellent impression, being tall, blunt, and straightforward. He got off the boat at Newport and went to Boston by train,¹ and later to Magnolia, and then on to Portsmouth."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 9, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 18th of July.

Since my last, of the 1st inst., the conference presided over by the Tsar at Peterhof has actually accomplished something, spurred on, and even alarmed, by the effect that has been produced throughout the country by the discussions of the Moscow conference.

The final vote which decided the Emperor to grant a national assembly, which it is believed will be announced August 13, is interesting to analyse. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of the Court, and the Minister of Agriculture all voted against. They naturally dread the power of interrogation which will be given to the assembly, and the consequent publicity of their acts. Kokovtsoff, Minister of Finance, and Glasoff, Minister of Public Instruction, refrained from voting. General Trépoff, to

¹ It was at the end of this journey, according to American newspaper reports, that Witte, after shaking hands with the engineer and fireman of the train, outdid the practice of President Roosevelt by kissing the conductor.

the surprise of every one, voted for reform and a national assembly. This is the first time in his life that he has appeared in the rôle of a liberal or reformer. He is probably the best-informed man in Russia as to internal conditions and the disturbances throughout the country, and therefore realizes the necessity of the Tsar granting reforms promptly.

Ignatieff, who had been down to Odessa, delivered a speech warning the Tsar that, unless reforms and a national assembly were granted, he considered the Romanoff dynasty in actual danger of being overthrown by a revolution which would spread throughout the land. This speech, it is said, made a great impression, as Ignatieff has until lately been a reactionist.

The Moscow reformers, while in principle they were not averse to peace, dreaded it as an occasion for the autocracy to delay reforms. Within three days they have come out strongly for peace, feeling sure now of a national assembly.

The revolutionists have been working on the peasants in various parts of the country, and have even made arrangements to distribute literature among the soldiers in the army at the front, urging them to lay down their arms in case peace is not made.

I have just come from the Foreign Office, where Lamsdorff told me that the Emperor was exceedingly pleased by the reception accorded in America to Witte. He added that you had made a tremendous impression on Witte, and that he had cabled the Emperor to that effect.

Lamsdorff spoke of the probabilities of getting the discriminating duties removed, which coincides with what the Minister of Finance had already intimated to me, details of which I communicated to the Department.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

“*August 10.* — Nice long letters from the family in Hamilton. They are delighted with the house and the changes on the place, which delights me also.

“The feeling that peace will not result from the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at Portsmouth continues. Russia, it is thought, will not pay an indemnity nor yield Russian territory to Japan. Japan, it is thought, will demand not only territory but indemnity.

“Received word this evening that the terms have been cabled to Russia by Witte.

“*August 16.* — The *pourparlers* at Portsmouth are progressing with more promise of success. They have so far agreed upon four articles: exclusive influence of Japan in Corea, recognizing the sovereignty of the ruling House; the Russians and Japanese agree to evacuate Manchuria and to renounce all privileges and to recognize it as Chinese territory, with the open door; Russia cedes to China the railroad from Harbin south; Port Arthur and Dalny with privileges ceded to Japan.

“Call on Count Cassini, find him at home. Assures me that he did not leave Washington without regret. Spoke very nicely about Mr. Hay, and told how he had received from him two books as a memento.

“*August 17.* — Associated Press cables that discriminating duties are to be removed as the result of my conference with the Foreign Office and Department of Finance, but will be announced by Witte or Rosen in America. These discriminating duties have been in

force since the beginning of 1901, and have been very detrimental to commerce between Russia and America. The bridge used to come together on this subject is Article 3 of Dingley Tariff. Does not benefit Russia much, but serves her as an excuse. The plenipotentiaries are coming down to the hard nuts to crack, and unless Japan gives way now in certain matters peace will not come about. Each appears to be firm and unyielding.

"August 18.—Norway votes 368,200 to 184 in favour of secession.

"German Ambassador calls to learn how peace is progressing.

"To-day the Austrian Ambassador lunched with the Emperor and Empress at Peterhof. In conversation with Hohenlohe, their military attaché, the Tsar said that the Japanese were evidently trying to humiliate Russia in endeavouring to limit his naval strength in the East and asking for the interned vessels in neutral ports. He added that he would never make a peace that would require an indemnity to be paid or the giving up of Russian territory. Cabled this to the President. Called on Minister of Finance to corroborate the fact that discriminating duties will be removed.

"August 19.—To-day the Tsar announced the plan for a national assembly with full particulars,—this should prove a great event in Russia's history and is a tremendous step forward, besides being a decided victory for the reformists throughout Russia. Call on Lamsdorff. He seemed quite pleased with the fish

that I had sent him and which I got at Imatra.¹ Was much delighted with the impression and success that Witte had made in America.

“The Russian plenipotentiaries arriving with full powers and the Japanese with limited powers was a great surprise and made a good impression. Cabled the Department that Witte had been authorized by the Tsar to announce to the President the removal of the discriminating duties. Will probably wait until he can announce it personally to the President.

“*August 21.*—The project of the national assembly which is now assured has not aroused any enthusiasm in St. Petersburg. In some of the foreign papers there is criticism of the limited scope of the parliament, but it should be remembered that there are 99,000,000 of illiterates in Russia. They must first show their ability to legislate before their powers are too large. As the Emperor said, ‘Experience will show what is required.’ Play tennis at Krestovsky with Grand Duke Boris, Fürstenberg, and Hohenlohe. Lady Hardinge goes back to St. P. with me in my auto, and we arrange to go to the review next morning. Dine at the Spanish Embassy with Duke and Duchess de Arcos; she was born Laurie. Dinner was given for Count Cassini.”

The diary of August 22 and 23 is filled with the record of Meyer’s face-to-face dealings with the Tsar, under cabled instructions from President Roosevelt,

¹ A few days of salmon-fishing were described in the diary, in passages omitted here.

on the conclusion of peace by the Portsmouth Conference. Meyer's part in all this enterprise was an indispensable element in its success. It is only fair to say that without his admirable conduct of the negotiations in St. Petersburg the work for which President Roosevelt so justly received the plaudits of the world could hardly have been accomplished. This was indeed the opinion, and the testimony, of the best-informed in Russia at the time. Again a letter to the President affords the more finished record of these momentous days.

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 25, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I cabled at midnight on the 23rd the outcome of my audience with the Tsar. Your cabled instructions reached me at eight o'clock in the morning (Tuesday) the 22nd, but only one-sixth of the message. The rest was held up for nearly two hours. Of course I am ignorant whether it was sent piece-meal or all at once from Oyster Bay. I have strong suspicions that this was done here designedly. It was known that I was going early Tuesday morning to the manœuvres with the Beloselskys, at a place between Peterhof and Tsarskoë Selò, to which none of the military attachés had been invited this year. The Emperor was to be present, and we were to lunch with the Grand Duke Vladimir. Just enough of the message was brought to me from the cable office to show me, after translating it, that it was of great importance and impossible for me to leave before the receipt of the balance of the cable. I therefore wrote a note explaining why I could not get away, and that I was asking, through Lamsdorff, for an audience at

once. I begged the Grand Duke Vladimir to use his judgment in showing this to the Emperor, which I learned afterwards he did.

It was unfortunate that the entire cable was not given to me at eight o'clock, as I then should have had time to translate it and leave for the manœuvres, where I should have seen the Emperor immediately after my arrival, without any formal appointment and before any of the war party or any of the bureaucracy had had time to know the contents of your dispatch, or to have warned the Emperor thereof, because, you know, they have our code. You may think me over-suspicious of the bureaucracy's methods, but I think when we next meet I can satisfy you that I have good reasons. As it was, they had a conference at Peterhof that night, Tuesday, over your cable, Lamsdorff never getting back to St. Petersburg until eleven P.M., and he even telephoned me that evening at half-past nine from Peterhof that my audience was for four P.M. the next day. It was very evident to me in the interview that the Tsar was familiar with the cable, for he knew just where to turn in my translation for the phrase "substantial sum." He was absolutely prepared for certain questions, and seemed at a loss and even perplexed at other unexpected ones. He appeared to me this time as a man of no force, without any breadth of mind; he has the Russian capacity of passing by misfortunes that have taken place and seeing things in the future as he would have them, and instead of reasoning, resorts to the subterfuge that his conscience tells him that he must do thus.

On my arrival at the Emperor's brick cottage in the park of Peterhof, I was instantly shown into his study, where he received me. From the windows one could have thrown a stone into the waters of the Gulf of Finland, and as we sat at the table, I could see Kronstadt in the distance.

I went through the form of reading your cable instructions, and then the Emperor read me a part of his telegram sent that morning to the Kaiser, saying that, much as he wanted peace, it must be an honourable one for Russia and therefore he could not give up Russian territory, or pay a war-indemnity in any form. The Tsar then remarked that it was quite a coincidence that each time I came to see him he had had a telegram from the German Emperor (in their private code) urging him to make peace.

I discussed Sakhaline and the payment of a "substantial sum," from all points of view. He even got out the map and I believe, if I had managed to have seen him before he had any conference, I would have obtained from him, not an excessive amount, but a liberal amount in payment as purchase money. He acted to me as though he had made a promise, or committed himself previously, not to pay for Sakhaline. When I asked him to realize that possession was nine points of the law, and that the entire island of Sakhaline would become Japanese territory, commanding the entrance to the Amur River, if division was not accepted, he answered that the straits were frozen over in winter and that troops could cross over on the ice, — "and be surrounded by the Japanese fleet," I replied, "after the ice breaks." He acknowledged it might take twenty years before they could bring a Russian navy up to a formidable point in every respect.

The Tsar next took the ground that a division would only be a constant source of irritation and strife, and if peace was not to be a lasting and durable one, it was much better, sad as it might be, to continue war and finally make a lasting peace, even if in the interim they should lose territory, which he felt sure in the end they would win back, as Japan's resources were such that they could not carry on the war indefinitely, continually getting further from their base of supplies.

I begged him to turn to the map of the New England States and showed him how the natural boundary-line was the St. Lawrence River, yet the actual boundary-line was an imaginary one to the south and east of it. Nevertheless, since the treaty had been signed, we had had no disturbances over it, which seemed to make quite an impression upon him.

His Majesty having agreed to the division of Sakhaline, on the ground that the lower half was originally Japanese territory,¹ I struggled for a "substantial sum." This he said "was simply a different form of paying a war-indemnity to Japan. He knew and realized that, after the war, the Japanese would need money. "I have always felt that they commenced the war in a manner which was open to a good deal of criticism. Russia is not a vanquished nation. The Japanese are making claims not based alone on their victories, but as though they were at the gates of my Capitol. Why have they not attacked the army for nearly four months? They are also banking on the internal disturbances for compelling us to pay a war-indemnity, so as to obtain peace for the purpose of settling our troubles within the Empire. I believe, now, that it has come down to a question of money, the people will prefer to have the money used in their country rather than in Japan, and will show their loyalty in supporting my actions, and if necessary I will go to the front myself and join my army."

When I called his attention to the fact that Japan was actually in possession of Sakhaline and could hardly be expected to give up half of it without at least full payment of its real value, he asked: "But how can that be ascertained?" My reply was: by negotiation through his plenipotentiaries at

¹ Meyer wrote in his diary, August 23: "As we had the map in front of us, and I called to his attention how important the upper half [of Sakhaline] was to Russia, opposite the mouth of the Amur, and having proved to him that the northern half was more Japanese territory, historically, than Russian, as it had been Japanese previous to 1870, therefore it was not really Russian territory more than Port Arthur, it could consistently go to the Japanese."

Portsmouth. In my second cable I touched on this, and intimated that there was a possibility in this direction. The conditions under which the Tsar would make peace, at the end of my two-hours' audience, I cabled in my first dispatch.

The Emperor's manner throughout the entire time was cordial and agreeable, and he instructed me to cable how much he appreciated the spirit that had prompted you and also the efforts that you had made, in which he appeared to be absolutely sincere.

There is no doubt that the feeling in Russia has gained ground that it has come down to a question of indemnity, or a matter of roubles, as they say here, all the other points being settled or in such state that they can be solved. In one of my previous letters I stated that when it came down to a matter of roubles, there was no question as to Russia's patriotism. In our presidential campaign after the McKinley tariff, the Democrats, as you remember, made the campaign on the issue that the people's pockets were going to suffer, and the Democrats won out, to be sure on misrepresentation, but the Republicans had not the time to prove the contrary. Now the war party here are in a fair way of winning over the people by showing that if a war-indemnity has to be paid, it will have to come out of them and will prove a heavy extra burden, which in the end will only be used against them and the country by the Japanese.

As to the discriminating tariff, which I expect to hear any day Witte has announced to you is to be removed, the inside history is as follows: The Minister of Finance agreed that in view of the United States Government's offer to take up the consideration of a commercial agreement under Article 3 of the Dingley Tariff, the Russian Government would recommend removal of the discriminating duties in anticipation of the above agreement. He wanted, however, to await Witte's

return, as a courtesy to a former Minister of Finance who had put on these duties and who might want to be heard in opposition. After I saw what a splendid reception Witte had received in America, and how much he seemed to be pleased by it, I suggested to Mr. Kokovtsoff to cable Witte for an expression of his opinion, as I felt that he would be less likely to oppose the removal at the height of his popularity; and so it turned out, as he cabled in reply, withdrawing all opposition.

I am enclosing to you various extracts from several Russian papers, showing a great change of sentiment and that they are finally appreciating the spirit and motive that prompted your action.

Your second cable instructing me to make it clear to His Majesty concerning the retrocession of North Sakhaline, and that the amount could be settled by further negotiation, I forwarded at once, but as yet have had no acknowledgment.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

P.S. If the bankers should refuse to loan Japan any more money in case of war, as the French bankers some months ago did with Russia, peace will of necessity be made.

In writing on the same day, August 25, to his wife, Meyer referred again to the private correspondence between the Kaiser and the Tsar: "It is rather remarkable that since I have been here I have seen the Emperor three times, and between these meetings there has been a period of two months. He opened the conversation by saying: 'It is rather a coincidence that each time you have been to see me, I have had a telegram from the German Emperor in relation to

your visit.' He said: 'You know we have a special code and correspond directly.' In his last dispatch the Kaiser strongly urged on the Tsar peace. I mention this to show how the newspapers have misrepresented the German Emperor in his attitude on this war for the last year."

For a few days more there was a lively interchange of cable messages between Meyer and President Roosevelt regarding the possible modification of the terms of peace to which the Tsar had consented. Then the following letter was written:—

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, August 29, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Monday night at eleven o'clock the Associated Press representative called me up on the telephone and read me a telegram which had just come to hand, stating that you had been authorized on behalf of Japan to waive all claims of any war-indemnity and to cede back to Russia the northern half of Sakhaline, the redemption price to be left to the arbitration of a mixed commission, following the precedent Great Britain established in the Dogger Bank incident. I wired you at once asking if this was authentic, and if the proposed commission, in determining the price of Sakhaline, would be absolutely relieved from taking into consideration Japan's war expenses. I thought this important to know, because it has not been so understood by the Tsar. If I had been authorized to say that Japan waived all claims of a war-indemnity and that, in deciding upon a price for the northern half of Sakhaline, Japan's war expenses were not to be taken into consideration, but merely the strategic and land value, I believe I could have

pulled off peace with the Emperor on the 23rd of August; because, after he absolutely refused to pay a "substantial sum," I tried to commit him to the maximum amount which he would give, and after that failed, to agree to pay the real value of Sakhaline. It was then that he turned to me and inquired if I was asking that officially, under instructions. I replied that I had no instructions other than those contained in the cable which I had read him, but that I was endeavouring to find out exactly what he could and would do, in order to give you something to work upon, as your object was to find a way out of the present *impasse*. Immediately after, he remarked: "How can the value be ascertained?" This information I cabled you through Adeë, in order to use the secret code.

I am enclosing you an extract of an article on the financial condition of Japan, which is supposed to have caused Russia to act so decidedly and firmly in refusing to pay any war-indemnity. It was originally placed before the Government here by a French banker, who had been much in Japan and was familiar with conditions there. He was presented to the Foreign Office by Monsieur Bompard, the French Ambassador. There is also an article of the same purport in the September *Scribner's*.

The difficulty has been that, while both Russia and Japan are desirous of peace, each has felt, aside from any victories or defeats, that they have the other at a disadvantage, Japan believing that Russia would be forced to sign peace and pay a war-indemnity on account of the internal disturbances, while Russia, on the other hand, thinks that financial ruin is staring Japan in the face if she continues the war.

"Admiral Birileff, when he returned last month to St. Petersburg, repeated to the Tsar that he had found Linevich's army in splendid condition, and that in his belief there was no necessity at this moment for peace, and certainly not to pay

an indemnity. This had a great effect on His Majesty, as the Admiral is considered a conservative man of good judgment.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

P.S. *August 30.*—This letter I dictated before leaving the Chancery late yesterday afternoon. Last evening at ten o'clock I received a telegram from Thompson, Associated Press representative at New Castle, stating: "Peace concluded," which was confirmed shortly afterwards by a dispatch from Melville Stone to the press agent here.

I immediately wired, congratulating you and the world upon your great achievement. You have probably saved the lives of a quarter of a million of men and have placed humanity under a lasting debt of gratitude to you. Your success is also most gratifying, as the press representatives here on the Continent have all prophesied that you had undertaken the impossible.

G. v. L. M.

"*August 30.* — Mr. Stead, of the *London Review of Reviews*, called on me this morning and I had an exceedingly interesting conversation with him about the Tsar and the Duma and what it may accomplish for Russia. Asked him to dine with me to-morrow.

"Dined at the British Embassy; about the same people as were there last time. Asked Sir Charles to cable to Japan to their minister, to find out the name of the French banker that came from Japan and gave to the Russian Government the condition of Japan's finances and caused the Tsar to be so firm against an

indemnity, knowing Japan's needs and [that she was] therefore unable to continue the war for a long period.

"*August 31.* — Mr. Stead dined with me last night, told me of his interview with Alexander III, and how he showed the British public that he was a peace Emperor; also described his work at the first peace conference.

"The Russians are already beginning to say that, if they had only held out, they would have got the whole of Sakhaline; also regretting that they did not have one more battle, as they say this time they would have defeated the Japanese. Yet the evidence of all the military officers who are with the army from foreign countries is to the contrary. Prince Hohenlohe, the Austrian military attaché, says he does not want to read Russian papers for a week as they will now for the first time be winning battles! The President, while he has won the admiration of the world by his actions, must not expect gratitude from the Russians, as they will say they would have won but for him."

A portion of a letter of August 31 to Mrs. Meyer touches thus upon the terms of peace and Meyer's part in securing them: —

In fact the terms accepted were those I obtained from the Emperor in my memorable audience of the 23rd, and in regard to which, two days after, on a further appeal from the President, he again stated through Count Lamsdorff that the terms which he had given to me personally, and with which I was thoroughly acquainted, were his ultimatum. At the Emperor's

request, I had written them out the next morning and signed them, forwarding them through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who told me the next day that the Emperor was very much pleased, for the reason that they agreed with his understanding to a word. He had at first asked me to write them down before leaving his presence; but as it was so late, he expressed his confidence in me by saying it would do if I would send them down the next morning. It was a responsibility after I left, which I almost regretted having accepted, because it was so easy to make a slip in a word or meaning, even with the best intentions and care.

There were no demonstrations of any kind here on the arrival of the news, any more than there were when it became universally known that Rodjestvensky's fleet had been destroyed. Thompson, of the Associated Press, was very nice and cabled me the news instantly from New Castle, N. H., which I found on my desk as soon as I got home. I have also had cables of congratulation from Robert Bacon, Count Scheibler, Charles R. Flint, Frank Appleton, and others.

After the achievement of peace, Meyer had not long to wait for the *congé* he greatly desired for the purpose of joining his family in America. A few passages from the diary, and a letter to President Roosevelt, will complete the record of the months in St. Petersburg during which it fell to him to perform one of his most distinguished pieces of public service:

"September 4. — Dine with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess Vladimir. . . .

"The dinner was very simple. I took the Duchess in; the Belosselskys, Hohenlohe, Grand Duke André, two ladies-in-waiting, and A.D.C.

"The Grand Duchess again said how pleased she was about peace, but the young lady-in-waiting on my right mentioned how interested she had been in my work, yet she wished peace had not come now, as she felt Russia had been disgraced and discredited before the world, and at this moment she should have made one more effort to redeem her reputation and her prestige before the world. This fairly represents the feelings of a great many Russians in St. Petersburg. Reports are coming, however, from inland cities and towns showing the relief and satisfaction that peace has been concluded and war finally ended.

"*September 6.* — Baron d'Aehrenthal, Austrian Ambassador, lunched with me and congratulated me upon the successful part that I had played in the peace issue. Count and Countess Trauttmansdorff also came. They are to go to Berlin in October.

"Called on Countess Kleinmichel, my landlady. She is at the Hotel Europa and leaves to-night for Paris. She remarked that peace was a great blessing and much needed by the country after all that had happened. She knew, she said, the real feeling as she had been travelling through it. Called at Lamsdorff's and congratulated him that Witte had been appointed through his efforts. Seemed very happy over the issue, and that the country was beginning to appreciate it.

"Called on Mme. Melegari, the Italian Ambassador.

"*September 7.* — Spring-Rice called this morning at 10 o'clock. Said W. T. Stead dined with him, was

most complimentary about the Emperor and myself. Spring-Rice was delighted at the President's success, and also for the part that I had taken in it. He still sees a great spectre in the German Emperor, and thinks Germany wanted to force France either to become her ally or to fight. Rouvier, now Prime Minister, says he will give up Morocco rather than have war with Germany, as their ally, Russia, is too weak now to be of any assistance.

"*September 8.* — A little after midnight last night received a cable granting me leave of absence, with privilege to visit the United States. Started Gennaro packing this morning, and shall try to get off tomorrow night by the Nord Express to Berlin, where I shall stop over for a day or two.

"Pouch arrives from Berlin. Very busy at the Chancery as I am getting the courier to leave again to-night.

"Go out to Krestovsky late in the afternoon, to get some exercise and tennis with Princess Susie and Prince Hohenlohe, and Bliss. Baroness Ramsay joins us later."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *September 8, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I received last night a cable from the State Department granting me leave of absence with privilege of visiting America, for which I desire to thank you, as there are several private matters which require my attention.

All the Ambassadors are now asking for leave, and as one lady said, "It will be the reign of the *Chargés d'Affaires*."

St. Petersburg (where the war party predominates) was not at first wholly pleased that peace had been concluded; but now that reports have come in from different parts of Russia showing satisfaction at the result, the bureaucracy is more reconciled. Many of those who had no friends or relations at the front still feel that one more attempt should have been made to redeem the reputation of the Russian army. Lamsdorff, however, for once tells me frankly that he is delighted and contented. There is a strong friendship between him and Witte, which has lasted for many years.

There are serious troubles in Baku, and it is rumoured that there were disturbances yesterday again in Moscow, due to strikes; but I can learn nothing official, owing to the censorship.

I was more than pleased to hear of the appointment of Robert Bacon as Assistant Secretary of State, in place of Loomis. Bob is a first-class fellow, conscientious, painstaking, and reliable.

I hope to sail September 27th on the Kaiser Wilhelm II, and on my arrival shall report to you at once, either at Oyster Bay or Washington, as the case may be.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

"September 9. — Write my 200th dispatch since I arrived, on the 7th of April, in St. Petersburg. This does not include my weekly letter to the President, posting him as to the conditions and course of events in Russia. Ever since Mr. Hay's death the President has been his own Minister of Foreign Af-



MR. MEYER IN COSSACK COSTUME

fairs, often cabling me and signing his own name. The last part of the negotiations I cabled direct to President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay.

“Leave the Kleinmichel house in charge of a butler, chef, chamber-maid, and an under-man, at an expense of 278 roubles per month. Take the six o'clock Nord Express for Berlin. Princess Susie Belosselsky and her sister-in-law Princess Kotschoubey on the train, with their children. Quite a number of people came down to see us off.”

The diary of Meyer's few days in Germany on his way home to America is notable for its long account of an illuminating interview with the Kaiser. It records also his report to the Japanese Minister in Berlin upon the important work of the American Embassy in Russia, — not hitherto mentioned among the service performed by Mr. Meyer, — in caring for the Japanese prisoners of war. It follows him to Munich for a brief visit to his friends, the Somssichs; it shows him, as often on his travels, seizing opportunities for exercise at golf; it notes his appointment to meet and lunch with the Kaiser at Homburg on Saturday the 16th. That day is recorded minutely.

“*September 16.* — Reached Homburg at 8.45 and went direct to Ritter's Park Hotel. A few minutes after I got to my rooms, which were the ones the King of England always occupied when he came here as Prince of Wales, a messenger arrived from the Ober-Hofmarshal, Freiherr von Lyncker, enclosing an invitation to breakfast at the Schloss at 1 o'clock and

also granting me an audience at 12. This showed me that he wanted to have an extended conversation.

"I presented myself promptly at 12, having timed the drive from Ritter's very carefully. I was received by Graf von Lyncker, and in a couple of minutes the door was thrown open and the German Emperor came forward and received me very cordially, saying he was glad to see me; then, laughing, he said, 'If you are not dressed too well' (I had come in frock coat and top hat under instructions), 'we will walk in the garden of the Schloss mit dem Cedern.' Then he started right off by saying, 'I want to congratulate the President and you on making peace.'

"'Your Majesty,' I replied, 'I am glad of the opportunity to assure you that I realize that, without your assistance and active interest, it would not have been accomplished.'

"I then told him how the Tsar said the last time, that it was quite a coincidence that each time I came to see him he had a telegram from the German Emperor. The Emperor stopped walking, laughed, and said, 'It was a remarkable instance, was it not? Would you like to hear the history of the first part of the peace movement, and how I prepared the Tsar's mind? Well, you remember that his brother, the Grand Duke Michel, came to Berlin at the wedding of the Crown Prince? I took him to drive, and began talking about the war and asked him what he thought. He answered very quickly, "It ought to stop. The condition of the country is so disturbed that my brother should be able to give it his entire attention.

But the difficulty is to know how to bring this about." I said, "England cannot do it, because she is the ally of Japan. France can't because Japan will not have it, as she is your ally. I would be considered too interested a party. There remains the President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt. He is a man of his word, active, of high ideals, and will have the confidence of Japan, and they also fear America, and your brother." "But we do not know him well enough to ask it, and how is it to be brought about?" "Why, have your brother send for the President's Ambassador, Mr. Meyer; I know him, he is a friend of the President, and you can depend on him." The Grand Duke assured me that he would not only inform his brother, but he would say as well that it was his firm conviction that this should be done now and quickly.

"I informed your President of this and sent a long letter, which I wrote myself, by the Grand Duke, to His Majesty the Tsar, giving my reasons and belief why it was important and necessary to conclude peace at the earliest possible moment."

"You know the rest, and I congratulate you upon your work; and express to the President my congratulations upon the benefits he has conferred upon the world by his action. I have written the President quite fully as to my opinions and beliefs as to the outcome of this war and its probable results commercially. Already a part of it has commenced, in the formation of a Japanese trade syndicate to control and extend their trade and commercial relations. All our

trade will in the end suffer, but England's most of all because they are not as industrious and painstaking as the Germans and neglect their work at times for sport. The trouble of it all is this foolish alliance, which will prove on each occasion to be to Japan's advantage. They will also get English capital to exploit with, and with their cheap labour and low standard of requirements will conquer English foreign competition.'

"By this time it was after one o'clock, and I could hear the sound of voices of the royal family and their attendants through the open windows on the garden; but the Emperor started on another turn about the garden, talking continuously. Lunch had been fixed for 1 o'clock, but it was not until 1.15 that we entered the palace.

"In the Grand Salon there were about forty people waiting for us, including the Empress, the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany, the Crown Prince and Princess of Greece, the Prince and Princess of Hesse, the brother of the Crown Prince of Greece, apparently an embarrassed lad, and Prince Adalbert, a charming young prince with delightful manners, in the Navy. The Empress came forward and greeted me, and I bowed and kissed her hand, and she very politely referred to my work at St. Petersburg, which permitted me to say it would have been futile unless the Emperor William had prepared the way, which apparently pleased her. Then the Emperor came forward and asked me if I had met his daughter-in-law, referring to the Crown Princess,

and presented me himself. She is very tall and slight, with charming manners.

“The Crown Prince looked at me with an air as much as to say, ‘You have kept lunch waiting long enough.’ He had been playing tennis, and was probably quite hungry. The doors were at that moment thrown open, the Empress leading the way alone, the princesses and ladies-in-waiting following, then the Emperor, the Crown Prince, the Crown Prince of Greece; at the same time His Majesty turned and nodded for me to follow. The Empress sat down, with the Crown Prince of Germany on her right and Crown Prince of Greece on her left. On the right of the Crown Prince was the Princess of Hesse, next to her was the Prince of Greece, then myself, and on my right a pretty Gräfin, lady-in-waiting to the Empress. Opposite to the Empress sat the Emperor, with the Crown Princess of Germany on his right; on the other side of her was Prince Adalbert. On the left of the Emperor was the Crown Princess of Greece, and on her left the Prince of Hesse. There were about forty at table, including General von Plessen, who went to America with Prince Henry, and Hofmarshal von Lyncker.

“The breakfast was beautifully served — French cooking and delicious Moselle wine. During the lunch the Emperor looked across the table, smiled, and drank my health. I rose in my chair and drank in return, holding up my glass afterwards, as is the German custom. After lunch the ladies retired to the salon, and the men stayed in the dining-room, the Emperor

and Princes going on the balcony and lighting their cigarettes. In about fifteen minutes the Emperor came back, beckoned to me and we went down to the end of the dining-room, and going out on the balcony we stood there talking for another hour.

"I told his Majesty that the morning I was to have an audience with the Tsar in connection with the President's invitation to send plenipotentiaries, my secretary informed [me] that Delcassé had resigned. I remarked then, 'Thank God! I may now have a chance of getting the Tsar to accept the President's invitation to the Peace Conference.'

"At that the Emperor launched out and said Delcassé was riding straight for war with Germany or a fall, counting on England's support. 'I did not care anything about Morocco, but I was bound to bring it to an issue and either force Delcassé to show his hand or resign. Mr. Bourgeois went to the President, Loubet, and said, "Do you realize that you are on the eve of a war with Germany?" — at which the President was astounded and said, "What do you mean? You are crazy." "Not at all," replied Bourgeois; "Delcassé had made his plans and, relying on English understanding, is headed that way. May I go to Rouvier and call his attention to the facts?" Permission being granted, he went to Rouvier, who was much surprised and disturbed, whereupon he called a meeting of the Cabinet and questioned Delcassé as to his policy, etc. Delcassé showed indifference as to German feeling, and, when asked as to his policy as to Morocco, and if it was true he intended sending a

fleet of ironclads to Morocco, said, "Yes;" and, when asked if Germany should take it as a hostile demonstration, shrugged his shoulders and spoke of the English Entente. As a result of this, he was not upheld by Rouvier and the Cabinet. Delcassé handed in his resignation, going out and slamming the door after him.'

"The Emperor in part blames the King of England for Delcassé's attitude; said that Edward was mixing up and prying into things; had attempted through the Emperor of Austria to break the Triple Alliance and weaken Germany's friendship with Italy, and had endeavoured to strengthen his relationship with Spain by offering the daughter of the Duke of Connaught to the King of Spain, which was refused.

"In addition to whatever strained relations may exist between England and Germany, I observed to myself that it was augmented at present by a family jealousy between the Emperor and the King of England. In the first place, the Emperor felt very sore that the King of England came to Marienbad without calling on him, especially after the papers had announced it was going to take place; the King of England in a most rude way told the German Ambassador that he had no idea of seeing his nephew. The Emperor referred to his going to England for a week when Queen Victoria died; and also, a year ago, to the splendid reception the King of England had received at Kiel and Homburg, which Edward said could not have been warmer if he had been in Liverpool. The King of England had invited the Crown

Prince, when he was engaged, to go to England, and then again lately. He had told his son that he could not have him accept an invitation from the King when that King showed such rudeness to his father. However, there would be no war, as the feeling between the people of England and Germany was better than between the rulers.

"I then had an opportunity to speak about the proposed German and American races between the Kiel and Eastern Yacht Club of Boston, for small boats of about thirty feet, — that it would go far to promote and increase friendly feeling. He was much interested in it and is to take it up with Admiral von Linden.

"It was then that Prince Adalbert came and announced that the Crown Prince of Greece and their party were about to leave in their automobile. We all went downstairs and saw them off, the Emperor presenting me to the Crown Princess of Greece, who in turn congratulated me upon my work in St. Petersburg. The Empress then bade me good-bye, as did Prince Adalbert. The Emperor then shook me warmly by the hand and said, 'Be sure and take my congratulations to the President;' asked after my wife and daughters, and asked also by what steamer I was sailing; smiled when I said, 'As always, by the Nord Deutscher line Kaiser Wilhelm II.' It was then 3.15, and I had been there at 11.45.

"I left delighted with the attention and charming hospitality that I had received and much impressed with the Emperor's knowledge not only of national

affairs, but his grasp and intimate acquaintance of commercial conditions throughout the world."

Mr. Meyer proceeded immediately from Homburg to Paris, and after a short motor trip in northern France with friends, sailed for home on September 27. On the day after landing he reported to the President in Washington, and wrote in his diary:—

"*October 4.*—Arrive in Washington at 7 A.M. Go to the New Willard Hotel, an excellent modern hotel, up to date. I call on Root, who is just about to take the train for New York, but wants me to lunch with him the next day. Called on Adeë, who was very complimentary about my work at St. P.—also Robert Bacon, who has not yet taken the oath as Assistant Secretary of State and was having Loomis coach him; then on Governor Taft, who was in great spirits.

"Lunch with the President at 1.30. Admiral Bronson was there, and a Mr. Tucker from the South, also Mrs. Roosevelt. The President was very flattering about the work done in St. Petersburg, and said that later he wanted me to enter his Cabinet, but could not say the exact date. Asked me to come round to dinner in the evening, as he wanted to talk further with me. Spent the afternoon with Robert Bacon; we called on Rosen, who seemed glad to see me again. He amused me by explaining, as all Russians do now, how they would have won the next battle if there had been one!

"The President that evening told me, to my sur-

prise, that the Japanese had asked him to make peace for them, and that he had from the first told them that they could not expect an indemnity unless they got to Petersburg or Moscow. Said that he had given to Witte copies of his letters to Kaneko, and to the Japanese copies of his cables to the Tsar through me. A very wise thing for him to do.

"The President said that he desired me in his Cabinet, but could not say which post it would be, possibly Secretary of Navy. Then he asked me point blank, 'Tell me if you think you could fill the place of Secretary of the Treasury?' I hesitated and said that I should like to talk it over with some friends; that it would be conceited for me to say right off that I could, yet I believed I could. Moody, he thought, was going out either next July or a year from March. He, the President, wanted me to have at least two years — it was only right. I thanked him and said nothing would give me more pleasure, and that I should be very proud, naturally, to serve.

"When I called again on Taft, his first words were, 'Well, when are you coming into the Cabinet?' My answer was, 'I imagine when Moody decides about his resigning.' 'I do not see any reason,' he said, 'why there should not be two men from one state, certainly for a while.'

"*October 5.* — Breakfast with Secretary Root, and afterwards we take a drive. Make many suggestions to him about improving the efficiency of our Diplomatic Corps abroad and the necessity of keeping the Chiefs of Mission better posted, the desirability of a

new code and also a French code, a uniform system of keeping the books, and having the Secretaries serve in the State Department for a while before going to their posts, having a special clerk who should pay attention to collecting information and cabling the same, etc. Mr. Root is going to try and reorganize the State Department and bring up the efficiency."

During Meyer's stay of seven weeks in America, he received many tokens of appreciation for what he had done in Russia — none more gratifying than the dinner at which sixty members of his Class at Harvard did him honour. In the unsettled state of Russian affairs, he would have returned more promptly but for the illness of one of his daughters. About a week before sailing he paid a second visit to Washington, recorded in his diary: —

"*November 13.* — Arrived in Washington at 8.15 A.M. Whitney Warren¹ went on with me. Received word at 10.15 from the White House that the President would see me at once in his office. Was very cordial and really seemed glad to see me. Found Governor Winthrop² of Porto Rico with him when I entered. He at once said, 'I hope your dear wife is not put out with me, but as, during the Commune, the American Minister was the only Chief there, so I think now you should be there as soon as possible. My wife was ill when I went to Cuba, but there come times when one has to do one's duty and leave the

¹ One of the closest of Meyer's friends in New York.

² Beekman Winthrop, afterwards Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Meyer.

family, and I realize that it is awfully hard on the wife.' He then asked after Julia. I informed him that I intended to sail on the 21st by the Kron Prinz, and consulted him as to the advisability of stopping at London and Berlin, to see in each case the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and possibly Emperor William. He thought well of it, but said, 'Consult Root.'

"Next went over to the State Department. Root also believed in my getting in touch with the Foreign Office, both in London and Berlin, but thought it would not do to leave out France. Suggested my seeing if I could not get Witte to say something that would reassure the Jewish element and quiet public sentiment. Realized that it was a delicate matter for us to interfere in any way and that certain Jews in America were merely striving for notoriety. The President had asked me to dine at the White House at 3 P.M., — 'in old clothes, and we will take a walk; bring Bob Bacon with you.' We assembled at 3 P.M. Bacon, the Assistant Secretary of State, took Pinchot and myself in the auto, and an African hunter and Sheldon went with the President. We reach the Park and there we walked for three hours, going over hills, climbing cliffs on which if we had slipped we would have surely broken a leg or an arm, then crossing brooks, fields, and brushing through thick woods. We got back to the White House after six o'clock.

"The dinner at eight o'clock was made up of the same men who had been on the walk, with the addition of Garfield and a Dr. Wheeler of California, Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Alice being away. The conversa-

tion was most general — big game, politics, diplomacy, Russia, and railroad rates. At half past ten I had to leave to pack my things as I was going back to New York on the 11.30 with Whitney Warren. 'The President on my leaving said, ' Say to the Emperor that I was impressed with his combined wisdom and judgment in making peace, and his decision to return to Japan the Japanese part of Sakhaline, without which peace could not have been concluded ' ; also that I might say that he had told Takahira that in his judgment they could not expect Russia to pay an indemnity."

On the way back to Russia Meyer met with no experiences more significant than those encountered at London, Paris, and Berlin in fulfilment of the plan upon which he had agreed with Secretary Root. They are related in the diary.

" [London] *November 28.* — Lunch with Mr. Reid¹ and his daughter at Dorchester House. Some very fine paintings. At 2.45 the Ambassador and I leave for the Foreign Office, to call by appointment on Lord Lansdowne. I found that Lansdowne did not see any necessity of their ambassador hurrying out to St. P., as there was nothing that he could do. His Government was satisfied that the Russian Government was doing all that it could to protect life and property of British citizens. He thought things looked very badly, but hoped, as there appeared to be no organized leaders, that this revolutionary movement would spend its force. There had been no disturbances of a really

¹ Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador in London.

serious character as yet in Petersburg. They had taken no special precautions for their Embassy. As to Sebastopol and Odessa, they had arranged with the Turkish Government that a government vessel should go through the Straits and rescue their nationals in case of need. They had also sent a naval officer to superintend the embarkation. Many of the wives and daughters of the factory hands had been sent out of the country for safety. Lord Lansdowne added that he would be very glad to have Spring-Rice act in concert with me.

"[Paris] *November 29.* — . . . Call at the Embassy and arrange for the four marines who have arrived in Paris, and are under the charge of Captain Smith, to leave Saturday on the Nord Express for St. Petersburg. Cable Root the result of my conversation with Lansdowne, and wire Eddy to have the four men met at the frontier.

"Go at six o'clock to keep my appointment at the Palais d'Orsay with M. Rouvier. Found him in appearance older than I expected and quite bent, but quite frank and outspoken. He seemed quite worried by the outlook and course of events — France is a tremendous holder of Russian securities — and could not understand the people's actions, what they were finally driving at, and where it would end. He wanted to congratulate the President of the United States on his great achievement and was kind enough to add, 'Your part also.' He added his admiration for the President's energy and spirit, and after saying he was pleased to make my acquaintance, escorted me into the

outer room, added that Mr. Bompard would be pleased to act in concert with me.

"I called on the Grand Duchess Vladimir, who was staying *incog* at the Continental. She had left St. Petersburg last Monday, and assured me that none of the things at present were exaggerated about the affairs in Russia, and was most discouraged about the outlook or prospects of improvement. They had all thought that Witte would have a following. The Grand Duke had resigned, and therefore had nothing more to say. She had urged that he come with her. Thanked me for coming round, and would like to send a letter by me.

"I asked the Grand Duchess if it was true that the Socialists were sending men in officers' uniforms into the country, who in turn assembled the peasants with their horses and carts and then read them the Ukase of the Emperor which promised the division of crown lands. Then they would designate an estate, and tell the peasants to go and divide it up. When they arrived there, the owner or agent would say that it did not apply to them, as it was not crown lands. The peasants would then say that they had just received orders direct from the Emperor's agent, and therefore they would seize the property; which they proceeded to do, destroying and burning when they were opposed. H.R.H. the Duchess Vladimir informed me it was quite true.

"[Berlin] *December 2.* — Arrive in Berlin at 7.30 A.M., clear and cold. Receive word that Prince von Bülow, the Chancellor, will receive me at 7 P.M. The

first Secretary, Mr. Dodge,¹ of the American Embassy, notifies me that the Emperor cannot receive me until after the 4th, as he is off shooting.

“The Russian *Chargé d’Affaires* at Berlin came to my room in the Bristol to have a private talk. He said they are quite discouraged and alarmed about affairs in his country; that the naval revolt had been exaggerated, but it was serious enough any way. Said his Emperor was kindly and well-meaning but lacked force and action. ‘Why, the Emperor, the other day remarked that, “we are having strange experiences,” quite calmly and almost unconcernedly.’ The Empress, Mr. B. said, had an evil influence over the Emperor and had brought ill luck to his country. They could not find out who was back of the Socialists and revolutionary movement, and did not understand who was conducting it. Witte had the confidence of no one except his fellows in the bureaucracy.

“Lunch at the Bristol with Garrett.²

“Call on von Bülow at 7 o’clock, and am received in the house which Bismarck occupied in Wilhelm-Strasse. Bismarck would not recognize it, except on the outside, as Princess von Bülow, who was the daughter of Donna Laura Minghetti, has given an Italian touch to every room, and as to her salon — you imagine yourself back in Rome. I had only to wait five minutes, but the Chancellor sent even then a messenger to excuse him keeping me waiting a moment. He received me very cordially, calling me by

¹ H. Percival Dodge.

² J. W. Garrett, Second Secretary at the American Embassy.

middle name, Mr. von Lengerke, as he always has, and remarked that the Emperor would regret being away, 'as he is very fond of you.'

"I thanked him and said I might be here until the 7th, that I had seen Lord Lansdowne in London and Rouvier in Paris, and without abusing any confidence, said that I found the latter very nervous as to the affairs in Russia, but for some reason I found them much more optimistic in Berlin, and that I wanted to ask him the cause of it. He answered, 'I will tell you all I know. France has very much at stake, holding 15 milliards (francs) in Russian notes, which naturally worried Rouvier, as he watches the finances very carefully.' Germany had about 3 milliards. Then he had advices from military attachés, who assured them that, while the navy could not be relied upon and was in a deplorable condition, it was their opinion that the army could be depended upon to stand by the Tsar, and that we had seen the worst. We both agreed, however, that Witte was between two fires — the Ducal party not trusting him, and the Liberals and Zemtsvos having no confidence in his integrity. What Russia needed now was a strong hand which would inspire confidence and respect. He never remembered in the history of any country a revolutionary spirit which heretofore had not developed a leader. No one could ascertain who was back of it. I remarked that the trouble was that there were no real leaders on either side. There was general discontent and a spontaneous movement of strikes throughout the country.

"I thanked von Bülow for the kind offer of the

Navy Department — which was, if R.R. communications should stop again, they would then do as they had before for a short time, send their dispatches and courier by torpedo service; they would be very glad to carry any communications to me or convey our own courier.

“December 5. — Go out to Potsdam on the 7 P.M. train, where I am met at the Emperor’s station of wild park by a royal carriage, which drives me quickly, and in a few minutes to the so-called New Palace, which, however, was built by Frederick the Great. I little thought in 1878, when I went over (I was then a junior at Harvard), that later in life I should be the honoured guest of the evening, entertained by the Emperor and Empress of Germany. I was received by a lady-in-waiting of the Empress. Later an A.D.C. told me my seat at dinner, having a plan to designate the seat, which was second from the Emperor, the Duchess of Holstein (sister of the Empress) sitting between the Emperor and myself.

“We went in to dinner informally, the Empress leading with her sister and her daughter and the ladies-in-waiting; then the Emperor, Prince Henry, Prince Eitel, myself, and the others. At dinner the conversation was quite general, the Emperor quite often leaning forward and talking across the Duchess of Holstein about the new steamer, Amerika, which runs between Hamburg and America, describing the five decks which were each named after a president and connected by elevators and with a Ritz restaurant on the upper deck. I had a peculiar discussion with

the Duchess of Holstein about the advisability of introducing Christianity in the East — which I contended against as being detrimental to those races, which seemed to strike her as very sad.

“After dinner the Emperor came forward and said, ‘Come, we will have a smoke together.’ I then told him that the President had instructed me to ask him if he had observed the difference in the tone of the cable to him and that to the King of England. He said, ‘Not only did I notice it and appreciate it, but it had an instantaneous effect all over the world, especially in England and France,’ where he had been designedly misrepresented. He added that it was a very generous thing for the President to do. I also told him that, as a result of our conversation and my representations, the President told me to say that he had changed his opinions as to Delcassé. Finally I told His Majesty that the President wanted to make clear that the questions of the Commercial Treaty did not depend upon him, but rested entirely with the Senate, who were not at the moment in a very favourable mood. The Emperor said he quite understood the situation.

“He then went on to tell me about the gravity of the situation in Russia, and did not think that the Tsar appreciated it, had doubts as to the reliability of the army; thought the strikes were trying to force a republic. Had lately heard that they were trying to mobilize 450,000 Cossacks. If such is the case, the Kaiser said, ‘Possibly the Emperor intends to endeavour to reconquer the country.’

“Referring to England, he said, ‘I see symptoms of reaction against the bitter feeling in Germany. On the King’s birthday, knowing that he loves fine porcelain, I sent him two beautiful vases, requesting that they be put on his birthday table. I also took the precaution to say that they had been sent, and with them my felicitations. Wire came back from the King that he thanked me for them, but they had not come to hand. On investigation, it was found that Lord Knollys¹ had had them sidetracked to Buckingham.’ The Emperor said Knollys was always hostile to Germany in every possible way, and greatly influenced the King. The King, however, wired that they were brought down on a special train and displayed at the birthday dinner.

“It was at 10.30 that Count Eulenburg came up and said the Ambassador had only fifteen minutes to catch the train; we had been talking steadily since dinner. I went to take my departure of the Empress, and she said to me that she had hoped to have a little chat with me, but the Emperor ‘kept you the entire evening.’ She wished me a *bon voyage*. The Emperor added, ‘Aufwiedersehen,’ and Prince Henry said, ‘With your permission the Princess Henry will send you a letter for her sister, the Empress, which she begs you to deliver by a trusted messenger after your arrival in St. Petersburg.’”

Meyer’s diary for the few remaining weeks of 1905 touches upon the many disturbances of a revolutionary character throughout Russia, on changes in the Diplo-

¹ Private Secretary to King Edward VII.

matic Corps at St. Petersburg, and on personal matters, including the note on December 18, "It is thought that we may have trouble later on, so I have ordered 200 cartridges for my rifle and 200 cartridges, No. 2 buckshot, for my guns." The chief points of general interest are covered in the following letters: —

To Senator Lodge

ST. PETERSBURG, *December 12, 1905.*

MY DEAR CABOT, —

. . . In London I talked with Lansdowne, in Paris with Rouvier, and in Berlin with von Bülow and also the Emperor. I cabled Mr. Root the gist of what happened, and have since written the President, as well as the Secretary of State.

Conditions here have entirely changed; the Government is showing the same incompetency as to handling the internal situation that they did in the late war. The reactionists are plotting against Witte, and the liberals do not believe in his integrity, and they themselves are divided up into groups working at cross purposes.

The Socialist and Labour Unions are working in common, and although they have not developed any leaders, they have a very complete organization for establishing strikes when and wherever they like. Their aim is to cause the overthrow of the existing government and bring about a republic. They are quite intoxicated with their success and taste of power, and are likely to overdo it, causing a reaction and possibly bringing about a military dictatorship, which would mean a return to old methods and great bloodshed. Every one is excited and nervous, and no one goes out on the street without being armed.

The financial situation of the Government is a very difficult one. Twice they have been on the point of closing great loans, and each time they have been indefinitely postponed: once

during the war, when the French bankers withdrew, and again only lately, when the papers were practically drawn up for a 350,000,000 rouble loan and the general strike prevented it. Now great quantities of money are being withdrawn from the banks and savings-banks and transferred out of the country.

Witte is going to try and hold on if possible until the Duma meets; but the election day has not been named nor the date of the meeting of the Duma fixed. As a matter of fact the Constitution has never yet been signed — merely the Manifesto of the Tsar, which could be revoked at any moment. One of Witte's intimate friends came to see me yesterday.¹ Can you imagine — Witte has made no arrangements for an organization in order to ensure himself a group of representatives on whose support he could count when the Duma met. He is a financier, not a statesman, or even a practical politician. The people are all nearly crazy here, and are not contented with any concessions; having got started, now they want all the reforms in one fell swoop, which the other nations have taken generations to accomplish; and to cap the climax, they demand universal suffrage for women as well as men, notwithstanding that there are a hundred million illiterates in the Empire. One day we are told that there will be a general strike, and then that Witte is to resign and a military dictator to succeed him. Everything in fact is rumoured, from the flight of the Tsar down.

To show the importance and seriousness of the Grand Dukes, they had a shooting party of two days during the time of the most alarming strike.

Wishing you and yours a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

¹ The diary of the preceding day records a visit from Dr. E. J. Dillon, of the London *Daily Telegraph*.

*To Mrs. Meyer*ST. PETERSBURG, *December 19, 1905.*

. . . To-day was the Emperor's name-day and there was a great service at the St. Isaac's Cathedral. All the Diplomatic Corps went — I was the doyen, as the only other Ambassador there was the new Spanish one, the Turk not going, as they won't let him wear his fez in the Cathedral. We were on a raised platform next to the altar. Neither the Emperor nor any of the Russian Grand Dukes were there — I think they were afraid to come. Witte and all the officials and a great many officers in their gala uniforms were there, and it was a very impressive sight. There were wonderful bass voices in the choir, and magnificent gold costumes worn by the priests. The service lasted about from 12 to 1. . . .

The Government evidently has got tired of these strikes, and they are now arresting the leaders right and left. The labour unions have issued a manifesto against the arrests, and we are liable to have a big strike; but I have laid in an additional supply of food and candles, and there is no occasion for you to worry about me. In all the disturbances that have taken place in the out-of-the-way cities and towns, none of the consulates have ever been touched or even foreign property of citizens ever been molested. This has always been the history in all troubles, and even in revolutions. There may be times when we cannot cable you on account of a strike, but I hope to be able to keep you closely informed.

*To President Roosevelt*ST. PETERSBURG, *December 20, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

History seems to be repeating itself, and there is a strange resemblance between certain events in France during 1789 and that which is now taking place here:

1. The discontent of the people.

2. The delaying of the date of meeting of the Duma, and whether it will develop into a real national assembly, as did the Third Estate, and bring forth such men as Mirabeau and Robespierre, remains to be seen.

3. The position of Witte as compared to that of Neckar; the former capable, but no statesman, the latter lacking in the same respect, but honest and more popular.

4. Now, as then, loyalty to the Sovereign exists among the people, and even soldiers; but will it not also later on die out here if reforms are too long delayed and merely promised on paper?

At present the faith in the Tsar continues because the people believe it is the bureaucracy and certain Grand Dukes that hamper the Emperor in carrying out what he has promised.

In one of my letters last year I wrote you that, if the army remained loyal, changes would come about by evolution rather than revolution. Since then, however, the navy has shown itself absolutely rotten, and there has been insubordination in the army at Vladivostok, Harbin, Odessa, Sebastopol, Kieff, Moscow, and even St. Petersburg. Rumours have reached us lately that it is very serious among the troops in Manchuria. Now, after the trouble has actually begun, an Ukase has been issued stating that the rations and clothing for the army are to be improved and their pay increased. Like everything else that has been done here the last two years, it comes possibly too late.

Reaction, during the last few days, has set in. Newspaper offices are being closed, editors arrested and placed in the prison of Peter and Paul, the Bastille of St. Petersburg, and labour-union leaders are run in by the police and Cossacks in great numbers. Unfortunately for the Government the Socialistic unions appear to be admirably organized, in which respect

the Witte Government is woefully lacking. Matters must soon come to a crisis and unless all signs fail, the strength of the Government will be tested by further strikes which are liable to end in revolution.

On the 19th of January is the celebration of the blessing of the waters of the Neva. It will be just a year since the cannon ball was fired into the Winter Palace from across the river. It is rumoured that the Emperor's *entourage* have persuaded him not to attend the fête but to have it at Tsarskoë Selò, where he is living like a caged animal, in a park surrounded by a high iron railing and barbed-wire fence. It will be a fatal mistake if His Majesty does not come to St. Petersburg and show himself on this occasion to his people, thereby winning their admiration and gaining the respect of the world. If he fails to come, he will be branded a coward, and the socialists and revolutionists will surely make capital out of it. . . .

Wishing you and yours a Happy New Year; believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, Xmas, December 25, 1905.

. . . Sunday I was at a place named Tosno to get some shooting. It was wonderful in the country — there was a foot of snow which had got trampled down on the road and made the sleighing perfect. I went out Saturday night, arrived there at half-past nine after a sleigh ride of about three-quarters of an hour. It was a beautiful night and perfectly still, and in my felt shoes and new fur cap and coat I was as warm and comfortable as if I had been in a room. Next morning I went to the place in the woods where we had the "drive," with two Russians, and in the afternoon I shot a moose — a great big

fellow. Got back to the Kleinmichel house at six o'clock Sunday afternoon. That evening being Christmas Eve, the Prince and Princess Fürstenberg, Prince and Princess Belosselsky, and Prince Hohenlohe dined with me. After dinner we went to the ballet, where I had a box next to the Imperial one.

This is certainly an extraordinary country. There was shooting and firing going on in the streets of Moscow, yet here was the ballet being given in a theatre as large as the Boston Theatre, except that the balconies consist of tiers of boxes, given in all its splendour with the theatre crowded; ladies in evening costume with all their jewels, and really a most brilliant affair. The only significant feature was that no royalty was present. It was the most beautiful ballet that I have ever seen, and consisted of three acts, in a variety of costumes, one act being made up of dances from different countries — Hungary, Poland, etc., and many of the women on the stage being really handsome. To my mind the most attractive dance was given by eight women in long ball-room dresses, holding fans in their hands, and all the women of same height and good figure. The performance was over at a very sensible hour — half-past ten. Among the people there were Mrs. Whishaw and her daughter, who were with the Spring-Rices. I also met the Whishaws walking on the Quay this afternoon.

The troubles in Moscow have been certainly serious, but I believe the loss of life is very much exaggerated. A reaction has set in with the Government and they are determined now in the future to put down any revolutionary movement. I do not anticipate any serious trouble in Petersburg. If you were living here, you would not know that anything out of the way was going on, except for what you read in the papers taking place in other cities and towns throughout the Empire.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *December 30, 1905.*

. . . The situation in Moscow, from advices that we received to-day, is gradually improving. It has got down to a guerilla warfare with the revolutionists who build barricades and then shoot at the troops out of the windows. The troops have remained loyal, fresh troops have arrived from St. Petersburg, and consequently this attempt will prove a failure. The country, however, is so agitated and disturbed that it will take months and possibly years, before order is established throughout the Empire. Petersburg remains quiet. There have been some very amusing hooligan stories. They come up to people and demand money, and in one instance a lady gave all she had and thereupon asked how she was to get home. The hooligan replied: "Allow me, Madam, to have the privilege of paying your fare." And he put her in a droshky and sent her home. In another instance a hooligan asked the privilege of kissing a lady's hand, which she reluctantly allowed, and then he said: "Now you can kiss mine." But the best of all was the case of the man who, on a cold night, was accosted by two hooligans, who demanded his watch and overcoat. He thereupon said, "I'll give you my watch, willingly, but if I give up my coat, I shall take my death cold." The hooligans said: "That's easily remedied, we will swap coats." On getting home the gentleman, out of curiosity, looked through the tattered coat and, to his surprise and pleasure, found a hundred roubles and another watch.

You would be amused if you saw me driving in my sleigh, with my Russian fur coat, collar turned up, and my Russian fur cap, so that no one can see anything but my eyes and, possibly, red nose. The coachman in front is so big and so padded that I cannot see out on either side. My pair of grey

horses have blue nets, so that the snow cannot be thrown up, and Otto stands up in majestic grandeur behind. I will try and have a photograph taken. I am using the open sleigh both night and day, because I prefer it to the closed carriage now. Otto has a loaded revolver in one pocket, and I also in one of mine. I think it unnecessary, but it is the habit of the place now.

To Secretary Root

ST. PETERSBURG, *December 30, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY, —

Fighting has been going on in the streets of Moscow for a week. It has finally reached the guerilla stage. Barricades are quickly made every night by the revolutionists, and then snow and water poured over them, which freezes, and a red flag in each instance is stuck into the barrier. Under strict orders of the Revolutionary Committee, no one is allowed to remain behind them. When the soldiers come to destroy these barricades, half a dozen revolutionists fire at the officers from some adjoining house, and then escape by a prearranged plan. The soldiers attack the house and not infrequently shoot down and kill innocent people. This condition of affairs may drag on for several days, but from what advices I can obtain, the troops have remained loyal and the present revolution in Moscow will prove a failure.

I have an acquaintance in St. Petersburg who is on very friendly terms with one of the leaders of the Union of Unions. He asked him what they expected to gain by their action in Moscow. He replied that their object was to capture Moscow, and set up a provisional government; that they expected some of the troops would come over to them; this would attract others from all over the country and ensure the final overthrow of the Government. "And if you fail in Moscow?" Then



THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN HIS DROSHEKY, ST. PETERSBURG

answered the revolutionist, "We will possibly make another attempt in Kieff, Harkoff, or Odessa; otherwise we shall resort to a form of terrorism greater in extent that has ever been attempted in Russia. The lives of twenty have been decided upon. First of all, the Tsar, and among the others is Witte."

Two days ago in Moscow the house of the Chief of the Secret Police was entered by five men, who warned him that they were about to kill him and that he must take leave at once of his children. This privilege was alone allowed to him, and a few minutes later he was taken out into the court-yard and shot.

The Jews have undoubtedly to a large extent furnished the brains and energy in the revolution throughout Russia. The students are generally revolutionists, and throughout the summer and autumn they have travelled and worked among the peasants in many parts of the country, showing them the injustices under which they were living and the remedies which should be applied by a constitutional assembly, promising also a great distribution of land.

Baroness Huëne, the daughter of the former American Minister Lothrop,¹ who has lived here for over twenty years, and is the wife of a Russian who has an estate in the Baltic Provinces, informs me that they expect any day to hear of the burning of their property in Livonia, which means total loss to her husband. Seventy large estates, to her knowledge, have already been devastated and as many more have been burnt in Kurland, which means ruin to these families.

Disturbances are so general throughout the Empire that it is not a matter of weeks, but months, and some even say years, before order can be restored and established.

There are two factors yet to be reckoned with: one the returning troops from Manchuria, now arriving and quite demoralized, and the other the Duma. There are those who seem

¹ Minister to Russia under Cleveland.

to consider that the Duma will be a panacea for all grievances. They appear to forget how difficult it is, and what time it requires, for the parliamentary body (which in this case has had no experience whatever) to agree on necessary legislation. To my mind the autocratic power of the Tsar, if he only knew how to use it and had the courage to do so, could be employed to great advantage at the present moment; since by a mere stroke of the pen he could institute reforms and establish laws, without legislative delay, which the better element of the nation have been crying for for over a generation. As it is, nothing is actually done, mere promises given, which have so often later on been withdrawn, and in the history of Finland actually broken. The danger to-day is the weakness and incompetency of the Government. The extreme measures and excesses of the revolutionists may cause a terrible reaction to set in, which will result in much bloodshed and cruelty.

For foreigners I do not anticipate any great danger as far as the revolutionists are concerned, for in no instance can I ascertain that they have attached or disturbed a consulate, or even killed a foreigner. The only risk is from the hooligans or irresponsible mob, which might take the opportunity, during the conflicts that are taking place between the revolutionists and the troops, to obtain plunder. . . .

I do not seriously anticipate danger to life and property in St. Petersburg, as there are so many troops stationed here, and the Tsar and the Grand Dukes have so much at stake in this city that protection is apparently well-organized; but in Russia that does not mean all it should. It is possible that we may be cut off from all communication, as the revolutionists in the Baltic Provinces are gaining ground, and they threaten to blow up some of the railroad bridges between St. Petersburg and Eydtkuhnen (the Berlin route), but I believe it would soon be reopened.

It is a pity that the Emperor, instead of reviewing favourite regiments and shutting himself up in Tsarskoë Selò, twenty miles from St. Petersburg, as did also Louis XVI in Versailles, does not study the causes and results of the French Revolution of 1789 and profit by the events which are rapidly being repeated in his own Empire.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

Were the primary object of this chapter to present a picture of Russian affairs during the period of Meyer's ambassadorship at St. Petersburg, the material to be found in his diary and letters would be ample for the purpose. It must be remembered, however, that the year 1906 in Russia, despite its foreshadowings of the tragedies of recent occurrence, held no single event of such importance to the world as the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905; and also that this book is, first of all, a biography of George Meyer. For the year and a month of his further stay in St. Petersburg, therefore, a somewhat more rigorous selection must be made from his own record of what he saw and did. Even so, there is much to be told, if only because the Algeciras Conference and the first meeting of the Russian Duma occurred in 1906.

"January 1, 1906. — Very cold, and good sleighing. The trees and shrubs are a wonderful sight, the snow having frozen on the branches and twigs.

"St. Petersburg, as far as the eye is concerned,

shows no signs on the streets of the disturbances and revolutions going on in the country, except for the beggars and hooligans on the sidewalks. The American Consul in Moscow telephoned to-day that the barricades were being removed from the streets, shops are being opened again, and matters were getting into normal state, and that the Consulate had not been disturbed or molested; that where he lived, except for the sounds of the cannon, they would not have known that anything was going on. Rather different from what the papers were describing.

“*January 3.* — Called on Count Lamsdorff at the Foreign Office. It was his day for receiving the Diplomatic Corps. The ministers of Roumania and Belgium were in the room and Mr. Lövenöon¹ just coming out from seeing Lamsdorff as I entered, so that I was able to go right in.

“He told me that they had had no communications with General Linevich for weeks; that even a telegram signed by the Tsar himself the strikers had not allowed to be forwarded to Vladivostok. Imagine last year such an acknowledgment being made. He also denied the rumour that Dournovo would be made Prime Minister in place of Witte. Lamsdorff seemed to think that the worst is now over, but I cannot agree with him in this respect.

“Send a pouch off by the English courier. It is rather remarkable that John Quincy Adams, writing from here to the State Department in January, 1810, refers to the disturbances of the communications be-

¹ The Danish Minister.

tween here and other parts of the world, so that he fears his letters would be received very irregularly. I quote it in my dispatch to Mr. Root, Secretary of State, as it is so applicable to the present time.

“*January 9.* — Send a confidential cable to the State Department. In the absence of the French Ambassador, their Minister [*Chargé?*] sent word to Witte, that while the French Government had, or knew, the instructions to the delegates¹ from England, America, Spain, Italy, and Russia, they did not know those of Germany and Austria. They now wanted not only the moral support of Russia, in case Germany by excessive demands might cause the failure of the Conference, but they wished for the Tsar as friend to friend to urge the Kaiser [against] asking for such things as would be unreasonable. France realized that they could not expect anything from Russia’s army at this time, but feared Germany might take advantage of these circumstances. I added to my cable that the President, of all people under certain circumstances, might have the greatest moral effect and influence with both Germany and France in this Conference.

“*January 10.* — Dine at Baroness Ramsay’s, dinner given for Sir Charles Hardinge, who presented his letters of recall to the Emperor to-day at Tsarskoë Selò. Sir Charles told me that he spoke to the Tsar about the Morocco Conference and said to him that, notwithstanding the improved relations between England and Germany and the latter’s advances, England would remain in the Conference loyal to France and

¹ To the Algeiras Conference.

would stand by her agreement. The Tsar expressed gratification at this."

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *January 15, 1906.*

. . . Yesterday was the first of January, Russian, and the Emperor and Empress received the Diplomatic Corps in the Alexandra Palace at Tsarskoë Selò. We all left St. Petersburg at half-past two, in a royal train which ran over the Emperor's special road to Tsarskoë. Six Ambassadors were present — those absent were the English and Austrian. On account of the changes the order of precedence was as follows: Turkey, France, Italy, America, Spain, Germany, with Austria and England at the foot of the line, after the Ministers, as only *Chargés* were in charge. At half-past three, after the Master of Ceremonies had arranged us in a circle, very much as was done in Italy, the doors were thrown open and the royal household marched in, with Count Benckendorff and Baron Korff leading, the Empress being followed by four young maids of honour, none of whom had any pretensions to looks, with the exception of the young Princess Dolgorouky.

The Emperor, when it came my turn, was most cordial, remarking that it was some time since he had seen me. He asked after you, and I told him that it was Julia's illness, and not fear, which had kept the family from coming here. He then asked me if I hadn't found things quite different from what the newspapers had led me to believe, saying that he thought things looked better and that the worst was over. I expressed the wish that 1906 might prove advantageous to Russia in solving the many problems which were before the country. He thanked me for my expressions and said that he should never forget what my President had done, and repeated it later on very emphatically, showing that he meant it. I presented Captain

Roy Smith, the Naval Attaché, and he immediately asked about our fleet, which had just arrived at the Mediterranean, saying: "I suppose you are sending vessels into warmer waters during the winter, as we do"; and then corrected himself: "as we used to when we had a fleet." It was almost pathetic. . . . As he took leave, the Emperor again shook hands and thanked me for my expressions of good wishes.

His Majesty had hardly left when the Empress advanced, and I bowed low and saluted her hand. She had a much more attractive expression this time than when I first met her last year in April. She immediately asked after you and the girls, and was shocked to hear of Julia's operation and expressed great interest in it, speaking of it [appendicitis] as one of the terrible new diseases. She was glad also to hear that you were all coming in the spring. I took the occasion to express the hope that the Tsarevich was in good health, and she said that he merely had a cold and occasional coughs that babies are apt to have, but that she personally was very glad that they were staying at Tsarskoë, as it is so much healthier for the children. She informed me that he could not speak yet, but understood everything; and related how she had taken him to the review of one of the regiments and that he had shown the greatest interest and excitement. I suggested that he would soon be acknowledging in the military way the salutes. The whole conversation reminded me very much of talks on similar occasions with the Queen of Italy. After a few minutes more of general conversation, I presented the different members of the Embassy in turn, but she only granted them the permission of kissing her hand and said nothing.

The incident with the Ambassador of —, who was next to me, was very amusing. It is extremely difficult for anybody to understand him — he has a neck like a bull, from which the words never are entirely articulated. In addition to that, he

is about knee-high to a grass-hopper. It had one advantage that, when the Empress gave him her hand, he was able to salute it without leaning over. He at once, after making the proper salutations, immediately, evidently, commenced the history of his life. The Empress looked puzzled and his First Secretary looked wild. Still the account went on. Three times the Empress tried to break away, but it was no use. His head was up in the air and each time he failed to see the proffered hand. Finally, while he was catching his breath, she raised her hand and moved away, and the incident became closed. She merely bowed to the First Secretary, evidently being afraid to approach another —, and moved off to Germany, where stood the new Ambassador, von Schoen.

The whole reception lasted about two hours, and was without any further marked incident. I only had time to get back to St. Petersburg, change my clothes and return to Tsarskoë Selò to dine with the Grand Duke Vladimir again. Count and Countess Benckendorff were there, as well as Hohenlohe and the members of the household.

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *January 15, 1906.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I cabled the Department last week concerning the nervousness of the French Embassy here as to the probable demands of the German Emperor at the Morocco Conference. The nervousness must be contagious, because even Sir Charles Hardinge, who has presented his letters of recall, and Spring-Rice, have also become worked up. It is quite true that France has left no stone unturned to impress Russia and the Tsar with the importance of using every influence to urge the Emperor William not to precipitate a crisis at Algeciras. In talking, within the last two days, with Prince Fürstenberg, an intimate

friend of the German Emperor, he assured me that it was his belief that the German demands would not be excessive and this talk of war was uncalled for. Schoen, the new Ambassador, who has lately come from Berlin, confirmed this impression. I see also that von Bülow and von Radowitz have each come out publicly with a statement, on the 12th of January, to the effect that neither His Majesty the Kaiser, nor anybody else in Germany, dreams of exercising the slightest pressure upon France at the expense of French national dignity. The question, to my mind, that may cause some debate is the question of policing. Should matters unexpectedly get strained, I am satisfied that you, of all people, could have the greatest moral influence with the Emperor and with the French Republic.

Yesterday being the Russian 1st of January, the Tsar and the Tsarina received the Diplomatic Corps at the Alexandra Palace in Tsarskoë Selò. The Emperor appeared in excellent health, notwithstanding what he has been through with regard to the war and internal affairs. No matter how black the aspect may look or how badly things are mismanaged, he has a sublime faith in God and his people, not at all appreciating that God prefers to help those who try to help themselves. During his conversation with me, which was very cordial, he said that on our New Year's day he had received a very nice cable from you, which he appreciated, and added: "I shall never forget all your President has done," and later repeated it with emphasis and impressed me that he really meant it and felt it.

By the same courier I am writing a letter to Mr. Root, posting him as to the present conditions, etc.

Believe me, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.¹

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *January 19, 1906.*

I got off our courier with the pouch last Monday evening. I had managed to get half an hour's exercise in the morning skating on the Fontanka with the Princess Fürstenberg, and when I got home found a telegram from Princess Olga Orloff asking me to dine there, Tsarskoë Selò, Tuesday night. This I was unable to accept, because I had planned to go off that afternoon bear-hunting. I left by the three o'clock train for Moscow, and got off at a station about four hours outside of Petersburg. There I found a couple of sleighs waiting for me in order to take Otto¹ and myself to the village where I was to pass the night. The sleighs were nothing but rough peasant sleighs with hay thrown in the bottom. The horses are rigged up like a tandem, but the leader is guided only by the voice and the whip. We started at half-past seven at night, I well wrapped up in my Russian fur coat and a fur rug over my feet, which were enveloped primarily with three pairs of stockings and long felt boots. It was a most beautiful drive, not excessively cold, and the distance we had to cover was 35 versts, or about 25 English miles. We drove across steppes and again through forests, with some of the tallest trees in them that I have ever seen. The spruces looked as though they were powdered with sugar, and there being no wind, the beeches and ashes looked as though they had baskets of snow and white balls attached to them. A little before midnight we reached our destination, which was a small Dorf consisting of half a dozen houses. I was afraid to sleep on the bed, as the peasants are supposed not to change their shirts until they are ready to drop to pieces; so I had some hay brought in and thrown on the floor, which I covered with my fur rug and wrapped myself up in my fur coat, which comes to the ground.

¹ His chasseur.

Next morning we started off for the woods where the bear was supposed to be located. Fortunately I had hunted and shot sanglier, as you know, with the King of Italy, and I soon recognized that the drive and beat of the beaters was a fake one, so I sent for the head man and the Jäger and rated them roundly through Otto as an interpreter, telling them that I was satisfied that there was no bear in those woods, and saying I intended to return. They finally, seeing I was determined, acknowledged that the owner had deceived them. It was a put-up job in order to get me to put out money.

When we got back to our sleigh, the beaters, who had consisted of forty men and about as many women, got very excited and evidently used threatening language to Otto, because they were not satisfied with the pay that the Jäger said was coming to them, and I could see that Otto was nervous. It is singular how indifferent one feels when one has a loaded pistol in each pocket and a rifle in one's lap. They saw that I did not appear disturbed and merely smiled, and finally some of them began to smile, and so I told Otto to pay them the difference, which was merely ten roubles, the full amount being forty in place of thirty, to be distributed among eighty people.

Otto then got into his sleigh and our drivers cracked their whips and we were off for 35 versts more, to look for another bear. I noticed my driver looked around several times to see if we were followed, but nothing of the sort occurred. This time I was sure of finding a bear, because I had taken the precaution, having been warned by Count Nerod, to send Otto (the week before) to ascertain if it was a fact that the bear had been located. Count Nerod tells me that this trick has been played before, even on Russians. I only made the first attempt wishing to avoid a drive of 70 versts across country.

Our journey led us through some wonderful forest roads,

which appeared in winter like private avenues, and we at last reached our destination at five o'clock, pitch dark. It was necessary for me to kill the time in a primitive peasant's log cabin until seven o'clock next morning. The chef had only put up in a basket what he called enough food for one day. It consisted of a quail, a chicken, four rolls, a small piece of chocolate, and a tumbler of apple-sauce. I divided it up so that it was quite sufficient. The food that the peasants eat would be impossible to taste even, and they don't even always have sufficient. I again slept on the floor and was disturbed in the night by feeling what I think was a rat under me, and got up and tried to sleep on three chairs, but finally went back to the hay, rat or no rat. Otto came in and called me at what I supposed was the middle of the night, but it turned out to be seven A.M.

At a quarter of eight, after a frugal breakfast, we were off again, driving down a steep forest hill which I did not know existed in this part of Russia. The "drive" was again arranged, and this time it was evident that it was a genuine thing. Finally I could hear the bear coming along, but could not see him on account of the dense wood. He suddenly broke through the trees right beside the son of the Jäger, who turned as white as the snow from fear. I hesitated a moment before shooting, as the bear was practically beside the boy. I fired an instant after and the bear dropped within, I should think, three feet of the boy. I rushed forward, but fell in a hole, and as I was getting up the bear got up and made away, much to the relief, evidently, of the boy. As he disappeared I fired again and wounded him for a second time. I then endeavoured to follow his tracks, which were marked with blood and showed he was going on three legs. The Jäger said that he would not be able to go far, and as it was almost impossible to get through the woods, I retraced my steps, and then shot two young bears

about the size of Newfoundland dogs, which were good-sized cubs belonging to the she-bear I had wounded. I left instructions to forward the big bear to St. Petersburg, as it was sure that she would die and would be unable to get any distance with two rifle holes through her, one near the front shoulder and one in the back. We had a long drive of seventy versts before us, and it took us from ten o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, when I just caught the train to St. Petersburg, having been away two days.

[*Diary*]

"*January 19.* — Courier arrives from Berlin with letters from the family, the State Department, and Lodge. He said the President was talking with him as to whom to send in my place when I entered his Cabinet!

"I wrote Lodge that of events outside of St. P., they knew them through the press in Washington 24 to 48 hours before we did here, due to the interrupted post and telegraph connections and the suppression of the press; that in no case had any Consulate been disturbed in any city, and that these disturbances were not directed against foreigners, or the Diplomatic Corps as in Peking, but were for reforms or even a republic, and that a diplomat could only look on. If I were fighting for my country or endeavouring to carry out some policy, I should feel compensated for being separated from my family. . . ."

"*January 24.* — A party of us go to Yukki for lunch and skiing. We have taken a small house and made a sort of Club out of it. They have made me

the president and Csekonics secretary. It is about half an hour on the railroad to Finland, and then another half over in sleighs. We all took lunch with us. It is quite difficult going down the steep hills, and then most tiresome climbing up again. The women and men had some amusing falls, but one is especially dressed for it, with felt shoes and leather breeches and jacket. The party consisted of the Ramsays, Belosselsky, Hohenlohe, Schoen, Aguëra, Wrangel, etc.

“An extraordinary plot was discovered in Moscow. The daughter of the late General Count Keller and niece of Countess Kleinmichel, my landlady, was discovered, in the house of a nobleman named Oznobishin, to be in possession of several bombs of great explosive power and infernal machines. In a muff was found a paper planning to kill Governor General Dubassoff, the Police Préfet and the City Governor, and their houses were to be blown up at the same time by infernal machines. There were to be in addition six bomb-throwers. It turns out that the lady is *not* the daughter of General Keller.

“*January 30.* — Have my audience at 3 o'clock with the Grand Duke Constantine, and later with the Duchess in the Marble Palace. The Grand Duke said my name was very German, and that he had met one of my relatives in one of the courts of Germany where he was the Master of Ceremonies. He also spoke of his trip to America with the Grand Duke Alexis in a naval vessel, and that he had enjoyed it very much. I spoke of his translation of Shakespeare

into Russian, and he told me that it had taken him twelve years. The Grand Duchess asked all about the education of girls and boys in America, and [said] how she regretted the lack of exercise and outdoor sports for children here. She was most agreeable and struck me as very un-Russian.

"*January 31.* — Paid my respects yesterday afternoon to Lövenörn, the Danish Minister, on account of the death of the King of Denmark.¹ In my interview with Lamsdorff, he said that he was very glad for the Empress [Dowager] that she had decided to remain through January in Denmark, as it would always have been a matter of remorse to her if she had not been with her father, the King, during his last moments, and then added what an ideal death it was. About an hour before death he had felt weary so that they put him to bed, and a little later he expired without any pain.

"I also requested Lamsdorff to see if he could not find out if the Japanese prisoners had been returned, and the plans of the mines in eastern waters, now that communications had been opened with Linevich and Vladivostok.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs told me that mourning for the Court here had been prescribed for three months on account of King Christian being the Grandfather of the Emperor. If he had been no blood relation, it would have been one month. I told him of my experiences bear-shooting, and he said formerly he had very good shooting within 60 versts of St. P.;

¹ Christian IX, died January 29.

if he only had them now, he would have offered them to me — for which I thanked him.”

To his Daughter Julia

ST. PETERSBURG, *February 13, 1906.*

. . . Quite a number of people have taken to skating every morning on the Fontanka. We do fancy skating and waltzing. The young Countess Benckendorff, daughter of the Russian Ambassador to London, and Baroness Ramsay are exceptionally good. Last Sunday we all went out to Yukki, spent the day and lunched in our little datcha. Everybody brings something for lunch, and the things taste exceptionally good after skiing and climbing up the hill.

In the evening I went to an official dinner at the Austrian Embassy, given for Schoen, the new German Ambassador. I met a number of Russian officials, some of them very agreeable and interesting. One interested me exceedingly, as after dinner, having grown a little mellow from the numerous wines that were served, his tongue became untied and he showed how the Russians really feel about the war. He said war never would have taken place but for England and America, and that Witte should never have given up half of Sakhaline! Whether he really knew that that was settled by the Tsar and myself, I don't know, but in his entire talk he was neither rude nor offensive. It interested me very much to get his real impression and feeling upon the subject, because it is the first direct case that I have experienced. When I said to him, “Of course the world realizes that Japan would never have dared to declare war but for her alliance with England, but in what way did America assist Japan?” “Oh,” he said, “with money, ships, and urging her on.” When I called his attention to the fact that that was never done officially by the government, but by the independent press of America, influenced by the fact that

Cassini would never state that Russia would ensure the open door in Manchuria, his answer to it all was that Cassini was a fool, and that the press had undoubtedly been influenced by the Jews, who were always acting in whatever they thought would be best for their moneyed interests. The Russian always puts the blame on some one else, and never learns by experience.

To Senator Lodge

ST. PETERSBURG, *February 14, 1906.*

DEAR CABOT, —

. . . Russia now is beginning to get very nervous over the Morocco Conference, because on that outcome a great deal depends as to their getting a further credit and increased loans both in Paris and Berlin. Schoen, the German Ambassador, the other day told me that they would not be satisfied to allow France and Spain to do the policing jointly. With the open door and the bank question settled, it was a matter of indifference to Germany if everything else remained *in statu quo*.

All the Ambassadors here get copies of the correspondence that is going on with their governments as to this question, and in other important questions, but the American Ambassador is kept in blissful ignorance. This I do not say in criticism of Mr. Root, as I have the greatest respect and admiration for his ability. Heretofore, when we were not a world-power, it was of no great importance whether our representatives were kept *au courant* or not, as they only had to look after any matter which might refer to their own country; but in the future, if they are to hold a dignified position in the eyes of their colleagues, the system of keeping our representatives informed will have to conform to some extent with those of the other great powers. I talked this matter over with Mr. Root, and he agreed with me and fully appreciated it; but I imagine that with all that is going on at home, it has been impossible for him as yet

to change the old methods which he found in vogue in the State Department.

I read your speech made in the Senate in defense of the President and the San Domingo Treaty, as well as the Morocco Conference, with a great deal of interest and pride. To my mind your argument was unanswerable. I was also very glad to learn from you that there is no real friction between the Senate and the President. From the accounts in the *Paris New York Herald*, you would think they were at daggers drawn.

Spring-Rice lunched with me to-day and he seems almost alarmed over the Morocco question. He fears that Germany may irritate France so that public sentiment may get so aroused that it will force her into attacking Germany. I take, personally, a less alarming view of the situation, because I think Germany at heart does not really want war, and that no nation will go blindly into attacking another in these days, after England's experience with the Boers and Russia's unfortunate results with Japan. The expense is so overwhelming and the drains so terrible on any country now, no matter how great its resources may be. There is no doubt that Germany is taking advantage of Russia's weakness and Austria's internal troubles in order to force France's hand. While Rouvier remains Premier, I think France will steer clear of any actual combat.

The meeting of the Duma is now being talked of as possibly taking place early in May, but Russians hate to work in summer most of all, therefore people think that, if it does meet, it will only organize and adjourn at once until the autumn.

Agrarian troubles continue in different parts of Russia and land-owners are much discouraged over the situation, because it is not known yet whether or not the peasants will consent to till the soil without a further distribution of land. Business is at a stand-still, manufacturing companies are work-

ing their mills with about 20 to 40 per cent of the usual number of workmen. All the prisons are said to be full and revolutionists are being sent to Siberia. The City of St. Petersburg remains apparently tranquil, and little or no news gets into the papers, as the censorship is nearly as severe, in some respects, as in former times. There is a rumour that Russia has a secret treaty with China as regards parts of Turkestan, granting her large concessions, but I have not been able to get it actually corroborated. I have turned over the effects of the Japanese Legation to the Third Secretary who has arrived here, and the Minister is to follow him early in March. This relieves us of a great deal of work.

[*Diary*]

"*February 16.* — Call on Madame Witte with the Austrian Ambassador, Baron d'Aehrenthal. They are living in an end of the Winter Palace. She was never received at Court until last autumn. He was made a Count and became Premier. She is, I believe, over 50, but has considerable charm of manner and is more like a French woman than a Russian in her manner of speaking and moving her hands. She appeared to-day extremely well and talked most agreeably and with much spirit. She referred to the newspapers, how they exaggerated and put all sorts of things in the paper. She was originally a Jewess and she related an anecdote which seemed to amuse her as well as us. A certain Princess called on her the other day and asked if it was true that she had turned orthodox. Madame Witte replied, 'Yes.' 'I suppose it was for political reasons.' 'Yes.' And the old Princess went

off satisfied. As a matter of fact, Madame Witte informed us that she had become orthodox twenty-four years ago, after she had married her first husband."

To Judge Francis C. Lowell

ST. PETERSBURG, *February* 19, 1906.

MY DEAR FRANK, —

Your interesting letter of January 22nd duly received. Moran¹ must be a thorn in the Governor's side, but I think he will turn out merely to be the comet of the season.

The copy of the *Atlantic Monthly*² reached me about a day after your letter, and I read your article with a great deal of pleasure. I quite agree with your conclusion, but would add even still another reason, that if we had men in the service permanently, many of them would become un-American, due to the modes and habits of life being so absolutely different from ours. Our diplomats would also get out of touch with American ideas and sentiment, as we progress so much more rapidly at home, and our objects and aims in life are so very different. The English of late years have been adopting a system of appointing ambassadors occasionally from the Foreign Office, and then again, at other times, taking secretaries and recalling them to do active service in the Foreign Office in London. This system has many advantages, as it has men in the Foreign Office thoroughly familiar with the customs and habits of the foreign courts, and cabinets. In your grouping of prominent American diplomats you placed Andrew D. White in a class, to my mind, far above his attainments, as I have always considered him a much over-estimated man and without much tact. I think he showed very bad taste in publishing his memoirs and making

¹ John B. Moran, District Attorney at Boston.

² For January, 1906, containing an article on "American Diplomacy" by Judge Lowell.

personal criticisms within a few years after he had resigned from the service. It is contrary to all regulations and custom, and sometimes makes it embarrassing to his successors. I do not think they should have been published until at least after his death, or a proper time had elapsed. . . . Many of the things which he describes and relates about Russia are incorrect, as I have found from personal observation and experience. His articles on Berlin and Germany, were, however, excellent, and showed a familiar and correct knowledge of what he was describing.

I was quite amused at your referring to my abode as a palace. The house is about the size of the Fred Ames house in Boston. I have an apartment up one flight, with a Russian family living underneath me and two above me. I remember seeing a photograph in one of the American papers of one of the ducal palaces; underneath it was written, "The Palace of the American Ambassador." Hence I suppose the idea which has got abroad of my supposed palatial residence. This is on a par with many of the misrepresentations and exaggerations sent out from Russia!

To his Daughter Alice

ST. PETERSBURG, *February 20, 1906.*

I got your letter last week and was delighted to see that you had been enjoying yourself. You must have made some progress also in skating this winter. I myself skate regularly every morning, and have got quite a number of people to take it up also.

Sunday the *Chefs de Mission* of the Diplomatic Corps were invited to attend the requiem held in the private chapel of the Great Palace at Tsarskoë Selò. We left on a special train at 11.10, arriving in Tsarskoë at a quarter to twelve. At the station were a great number of royal carriages, one of which

was assigned to each Ambassador, but only one to every two Ministers. In the ante-chamber of the palace, adjoining the chapel, all the dignitaries and officers attached to the Emperor and to the Grand Duke were assembled, waiting our arrival and that of the royal family. It was a very brilliant sight, for they were all in uniform, wearing every decoration that they possessed. We marched through the hall to the chapel. There are no seats or chairs, and we were assigned to one side with a few of the highest officials at the end.

At twelve o'clock the Master of Ceremonies rapped his cane on the floor three times and the doors at the end of the hall were thrown open, and the Emperor and Empress entered, followed by the Grand Duchess Pierre Nicolaïévitch, sister of the Queen of Italy, and the Duchess of Leuchtenberg, also her sister. After them followed the Grand Duke Vladimir, Nicolas Nicolaïévitch, Pierre Nicolaïévitch, Nicolas Michailovitch, George Michailovitch, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. They assembled on the other side of the chapel, opposite to the Ambassadors.

The Empress was all in black and looked very handsome, as it becomes her more than any color. The Emperor, however, I did not think looked as well as when I saw him a month ago. The chapel is in bright blue and gold, rococo style, a decoration which I do not at all care for. The service was conducted by six high priests in rich robes and caps resembling cardinals' hats. The service was all chanted, assisted by a choir of men and boys, beautifully trained, and greatly superior to any church music that I heard while in Rome. The service lasted about half an hour. In the middle of it, candles were handed round to each one of us, being lighted from that of the priest, and we held them until the end of the service. You cannot imagine what a strange sight it was, with the little Chinaman holding a lighted taper and looking as though he was wondering what it all meant.

It was a most brilliant and impressive sight and one long to be remembered. At the end of the service the Emperor and Empress marched out, followed by the Grand Dukes and Duchesses. We followed a moment afterwards and assembled in one of the large banquet halls on the floor above, where a breakfast was served at which the Princess Galitzine and Baron Korff, Acting Master of Ceremonies, presided. There were twenty-eight *Chefs de Mission*, so that we sat down thirty at table, in the form of a horse-shoe. On the right and left of the Princess Galitzine, were the Turkish and Austrian Ambassadors; I sat on the right of the latter, and next beyond me was the German Ambassador. Baron Korff sat opposite the Princess, with the French and Italian Ambassadors on each side of him. The breakfast was, sensibly, a short one and excellently served. After a short talk, during which the Princess asked after Ma and you and Julia and when you would be back, we returned to the station, reaching Petersburg about half-past three. It was a wonderful bright, sunny day, such as we have in New England.

I sleighed out in the afternoon to Krestovsky to see the Belosselskys, and after that returned to St. Petersburg and called on the Princess Troubetzkoy. She was leaving the next day for Moscow to meet her husband, who has been in the war and whom she has not seen for over a year. She is considered by some the handsomest woman in St. Petersburg. She was a Princess Dolgorouky — I don't think you met her when you were here.

I can't tell you how much we all enjoy our little club at Yukki, where we try to go twice a week. It is real work and exercise climbing up the hills after one has skied down rapidly, and as the darky said, it does one "a power of good."

To-night the Belosselskys are going to dine with me informally, only Hohenlohe and Bliss, and to-morrow night I am

giving a dinner to the Grand Duke Vladimir, *chez moi*, with zakuskis galore before dinner.

I wish you were all here with me and am looking forward to seeing you again in May.

[*Diary*]

"*February 24.* — Meet the Austrian Ambassador on the Quay, and get out of sleigh to join him; he informs me confidentially that his Foreign Office has communicated to the Foreign Office in Berlin, offering their friendly offices to bring about an understanding on the two disputed points at the Algeciras Conference between France and Germany — but with no results as yet. D'Aehrenthal seemed to think that the outlook was discouraging. I claimed that the Tsar was in a position to approach the Emperor personally as no other person could. It was the Emperor's *amour propre* which had to be considered.

"Later called at the German Embassy, on Schoen, nominally to talk about the claim of a German firm in Odessa in which one of the partners was an American citizen (naturalized) and owned 10 per cent interest. We agreed to act together in the matter. Then, in referring to the Morocco Conference, he spoke of French nervousness, and added that they try to make out that it has become a personal matter of the Emperor's, which is not so. Germany was placing it on international grounds and broad principles. I send a cable to the State Department about the Austrian Foreign Office making offer to the German Foreign Office to intercede, and that there was a possibility that the

Tsar might cable personally to the German Emperor, as Russia was disturbed over the aspect of the Morocco Conference.

"*February 26.* — Ukase has been published to-day saying that the Duma will meet on May 10.

"Lunch with the Austrian Ambassador, d'Aehrenthal, and afterwards we call on the French Ambassador personally and together.

"D'Aehrenthal thought that we might get the latest news of the Morocco Conference, but Bompard told us that he received nothing to-day as yet. He said France had made concessions; that she no sooner does this than Germany makes some new demands; that she was now trying to make the Bank an international one and would not accept French and Spanish officers to regulate the police of the ports, which was necessary for the safety of foreigners. France would make no more concessions. The whole trouble was that the Emperor of Germany had personally taken such a prominent part in this entire question that his *amour propre* was at stake and everything depended upon him personally now."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, *March 1, 1906.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Thanks for your letter of February 1. I can well appreciate, even at this distance, that you are "having difficulties of your own," and McKinley well expressed it when he said "Government is always a crisis." No one knows that better than the Tsar.

The feeling at the Foreign Office and among the leading diplomats here is that if the Morocco Conference comes to a dead-lock, you are the man to be the arbiter. Count Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador at London, called on me last Sunday afternoon. He discussed the Algeciras Conference and said that they were worried over the outlook, asking what could be done. This gave me the opportunity to say to him that his Emperor was the man, on account of the relationship existing between him and his brother-Emperor; that he had a special private code which permitted him to personally advise and urge the German Emperor, privately, to lessen his demands or leave them to arbitration. "Yes," replied the Ambassador, "but we must consider what his answer might be." But that objection Benckendorff was obliged to withdraw when I called to his attention that the German Emperor did not stop to consider that when he advised the Tsar to make peace. The Count then asked me if my President would consent to act as arbiter, adding, "All the world respects him, and it is well known that the German Emperor admires him." I assured Benckendorff that I could not answer that either officially or even unofficially. I suspected that he had been sent to me by the Foreign Office, and found out afterwards, on pretty good authority, that my inference was correct.

Of course the Russians did not go ahead in the right way. Instead of letting the Emperor act quietly on his own volition, Lamsdorff, being afraid that the German Emperor might not accept his Emperor's suggestion, made advances through their Ambassador in Berlin, and von Bülow, it is said, turned him down.

Russia is especially concerned, for the reason that they are in great need of a large loan, and without a satisfactory termination of the Algeciras Conference it will be impossible to

float one in Paris and Berlin, and it may mean an inflation of paper currency and a departure from the gold basis.

I have been much impressed with the investigations of the insurance companies in New York and the amount of money that individuals have had at their disposal.

One of the great questions in coming presidential elections is the campaign fund, and yet it is a necessity with our eighty millions of inhabitants and our ever-increasing number of naturalized citizens. They enjoy the privilege of voting, and a campaign of education, as it were, should be carried on at each presidential election. I wish you would consider the advisability and possibility of recommending a million dollars being appropriated by Congress for each presidential election, to be divided between the parties. This would be much more democratic and would stop the cry of the populace that corporations are controlling elections by their subscriptions to the campaign fund. The act could so be drawn as to impose a severe fine on any individual soliciting campaign subscriptions from any corporation, and the same fine on the corporation making the subscription. It would permit the two parties to start the campaign on an equal footing; and after the election a detailed statement of expenses should be furnished to the proper authorities. This may appear Utopian, but possibly you can thrash something practical out of it, as I believe it is the psychological moment for such a reform.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

"*March 9.*—It looks better to-day for a final arrangement of the Morocco situation. Now that Germany has had a favourable vote in the Reichstag for

six new battleships and five armoured cruisers, she will probably be more willing to meet French views if France makes some concessions as to the bank.

“The Japanese Minister, Motono, recently appointed, arrives from Paris, where he has been Minister. I sent Bliss, Second Secretary, to the station to meet him. He reported him as a small man, speaks French like a Parisian. Expressed his appreciation of all the Embassy had done.

“*March 15.* — Go over the Imperial stables in order to see the horses, with Baron Huëne. There are about 500 in all, counting those at Tsarskoë Selò also. Some of the Arabs and stallions are very fine, but as coach horses for state carriages they were not equal to the King of Italy's.

“Lunch with the Huënes, and after a heavy meal go back to the stables in order to see the carriages, harnesses, etc. I left at 4 o'clock, quite tired out. There was a strong smell of ammonia. The Russians are afraid of ventilation and have not studied drainage.

“*March 17.* — Maurice Baring lunches with me. He was at Moscow through all the troubles and revolution. The real leaders had not intended that it should start at that time, but it got beyond them and broke out without being properly organized. The movement counted on the troops in Moscow joining, at least to some extent. In this they were disappointed, and [that] was the cause of the failure of the movement.

“Regarding the present elections for the Duma, at Moscow the labourers were showing very little inter-

est; the peasant member had been arrested by the police and thrown into prison because he had made a very sensible speech which created some enthusiasm, and therefore the police considered that he was dangerous! The power which the police have while attending elections is bound to be outrageously abused.

“*March 18.* — Dinner given by Count Lamsdorff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was supposed to be in honour of the Japanese Minister, but Bompard sat on Lamsdorff’s right and I on his left; opposite Lamsdorff was Prince Obolensky, who, I have always felt, is not over friendly to America; on his right was the Spanish Ambassador, and on his left Motono from Japan. It was a very trying moment for the Japanese Minister, as he arrived after practically all the guests were assembled. The Russians were not lacking in courtesy to him, but very formal with the exception of Witte and Lamsdorff, the former having a long talk with Motono after dinner. Practically all the members of the Cabinet were present, with the Master of Ceremonies of the Court. Dournovo,¹ who was beside the Spanish Ambassador, I think, had some difficulty in understanding him. There was too much food and not very well selected, and a quantity of different wines. Lamsdorff whispered to me towards the end of the dinner, ‘The Frenchman does not even eat his own dishes or drink his wine.’ This evidently provoked the Minister of Foreign Affairs in that the French Ambassador showed so little appreciation of the good things which were offered.

¹ Minister of the Interior.

“ Attended the horse show, which was very good, especially the Cossacks, who ride marvellously well.

“ *April 4.* — Call on Lamsdorff, it being his official reception day. He happened to be quite communicative, very rare for him, concerning the famous *Temps* article which printed his now famous instructions to Cassini at Algenciras. It seems that a few minutes after Nelidow, Russian Ambassador at Paris, had received an official copy, he was talking with a French gentleman in his Embassy about the alliance between Russia and France, and as proof of Russia's fidelity to France mentioned the recent instructions to Cassini. This same gentleman went direct to the *Temps* office, and they were published so promptly that Bourgeois, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, read them in the *Temps* before he saw the official copy. Germany at once took offense and asked for an explanation. Lamsdorff gave the above, and said, as a proof that the original had not been given out, that they were an imperfect version.

“ *April 5.* — Constitutional Democrats carry the election in Petersburg, elect all their candidates.

“ Witte tells a friend that he expects any day that an attempt will be made on his life. Letters from Alice tell of her talk with Mrs. Cowles, which were complimentary, of what her brother, the President, had said — that I sent him the best all-round information, and that he realized how much I had accomplished!

“ Witte is not only nervous about his personal safety, but also about his political future. He will have no following in the Duma among the Constitu-

tional Democrats, now known as the Cadets over among the majority. It is said that Witte wants to get out before the Duma meets, and apparently break with Dournovo. This he feels would help him politically; but the Tsar will not accept his resignation, and evidently it is realized that on account of the loan that is being negotiated in London and Paris it is better to have him continue in office at least until that is out of the way or placed.

"*April 8.* — At the Concours Hippique it was rumoured that there was to be an attempt on the life of the Grand Duc Nicolas Nicolaïévitch. Nothing happened.

"All the trams, electric, were stopped running across the river on the ice to-day. People were also stopped walking or driving across, so that all traffic is stopped.

"Close of the Morocco Conference yesterday. The Inspector General proposed for military police is to be a superior officer of the Swiss Army, and the differences between the Maghzen and the State Bank should be referred to the Federal High Court of Lausanne.

"The United States through its representative, Henry White, stated [that], while accepting the application of the Conference for its own citizens, [it] could not assume any responsibility for their enforcement.

"It is just about a year ago that the German Emperor made his sensational call and visit to Tangier which resulted in the Conference just closed.

"April 12. — Send a letter by the English courier for Washington *via* London, one to the Department concerning Russo-China affairs in the Far East, and another to Lodge with my article on 'Our Inelastic Currency.'¹ I asked him for his judgment on it, as I had intended to have it published either in the *Atlantic Monthly* or the *Review of Reviews*, but decided to send it for his use. I am curious to hear what he thinks of it.

"The eruption of Vesuvius continues, several towns having been deserted, a few destroyed, which I have been through a little over a year ago in my auto. I see that the King and Queen visited the places threatened, much to the joy of the inhabitants, who felt, with what was happening, God and the Saints had deserted them.

"April 14. — Went to the mass at St. Isaac's Cathedral. Only part of the Diplomatic Corps were there, including the French Ambassador. The service begins at 11 P.M. and it lasts for hours. At midnight they march out of the Church, walking round the entire building. Then they come and knock on the door, march through the Church, and announce that Christ has risen. The cannons thunder at the same moment from the Fortress across the river. Why they have Christ rising to the peal of the cannons is not quite explained by the Russians. The Church was crowded, but the service was not impressive after the first few

¹ This article, published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1906, was a statistical comparison of the financial methods of the United States with those of England, France, and Germany.

moments, as there is a constant and tedious repetition of the same doleful chant.

“*April 15* (Russian Easter Day). — At half-past one A.M. I went from the Cathedral to a Russian supper at the Bobrinskoy's. It did not differ much as to food from an old fashioned New England dinner in the middle of the day (twelve hours later). There was turkey, gelinotte, salads, cranberry sauce, cake, fruits, and a special dish of hard cream with currants in moulded form. It takes several days to make it properly and, to my surprise, [it] was very good. All the Russians kissed each other three times. The Fürst-enbergs¹ and myself, the only strangers, were not included in this ceremony; however, they were all most cordial, hospitable and charming in their manners, and I was glad to have a chance of seeing this delightful side of Russian fête celebration in their home life. The young girls and men sat at one end of the table, the hostess and her friends at the other end. The conversation was animated, and good feeling predominated and made itself felt throughout the evening. Countess Bobrinskoy presented me with a fascinating little enamelled Faberger egg. The guests were Beloselskys, Fersens, Warashoff, Dashkoff, Ivan Orloffs, Orloff Dernidoff, Benckendorff, Nieroth, Troubet-skoy, etc. Eating, drinking, talking, and merry-making were kept up until 4 A.M.

“Lunch at the Austrian Embassy with Prince and Princess Fürstenberg; the latter gives me a Faberger Easter egg with her best wishes.

¹ Of the Austrian Embassy.

"*April 16.* — Rumours of the death of Grand Duke Michel, also that the Dowager Empress was ill, and that something had happened to Dournovo. This is the city of *potins*, and rumours and stories spread with the rapidity of prairie fires. It was all on account of the préfet of the city having neglected to say that on Easter they might put out flags as well as having illuminations. Therefore the police ordered down the flags. People said at once something had happened, and then the above rumours started.

"The telegram which the German Emperor sent to Count Golerchowski is attracting considerable attention; is evidently meant as a slap at Italy for her lukewarm support at Algeciras. The fact that Emperor William said to Austria that 'you proved yourself a brilliant *second* at the scene of struggle,' may not entirely please Austria, though undoubtedly it was meant to be complimentary.

"*April 17.* — Maxim Gorky, who arrived in America with Andreiva, an actress who was attempting to pass off as his wife, has since been turned out of three hotels; every one has cancelled engagements with him, even Mr. Mitchell, the head of one of the labour unions. So that Gorky, who received a favourable reception when he first arrived — and even Mark Twain and Howells attended a dinner — is now discredited.

"President Roosevelt, in his speech at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Congressional Building, attacked the magazine articles which were attacking and maligning all public men alike and trying to

discredit them before the public. He also touched on the possible necessity of limiting in the future by a progressive tax all fortunes above a certain amount. This has excited a world-wide interest.

" *April 21.* — Have a small lunch for young Mr. Harper of Chicago and Guy Scull of Boston.¹ Afterward take them with Miles² and Thompson of the Associated Press to see the Duma. It is in the palace of the Tauride Garden, the one which Catherine gave to Potemkin. A year ago I saw there the private collection of paintings of Catherine and some of the men and women of her time. Now it has been adapted for the use of the Duma, with considerable taste, and the halls and antecamera with their many columns are most dignified. The chamber itself is different from any that I have seen, part of it being divided off by columns back of the speaker, which I should think would affect the acoustic properties. The aisles are very narrow, and when voting is going on may cause confusion, as I believe it is not to be done by the members sitting in their seats and answering the roll-call, but by a division of the house, the members passing back of the speaker or president on either side. The decorations are in excellent taste. The press are in seats by themselves on the floor of the house, being on each side of the presiding officer. Arrangements have been made to feed the members of the Duma in the building.

¹ American newspaper correspondents in St. Petersburg, to see the opening of the Duma.

² Basil Miles, who had come to St. Petersburg in December with Mr. Meyer, as his Diplomatic Secretary.

"*April 27.* — The London *Times* comes out with an article from their correspondent, which intimates that the Tsar is about to give a constitution which limits the powers of Duma and retains many autocratic ones for himself. The London *Times* correspondent is so much in sympathy with the Revolutionists and so prejudiced against the Government that he can never credit the Emperor with a good motive and scarcely ever places the issues fairly and impartially to the English public. Think he should be removed if England and Russia wish to come to a good entente.

"*April 28.* — Dine at Count and Countess Witte's in the Winter Palace — dinner given for the Grand Duke Vladimir. . . . The guests were the Fürstenbergs, Belosselskys, Orloff-Davidoff, Fersens, Goudovitch, Worouzwow, Dashkoff. Neither Witte nor his wife seemed at their ease, he distraught and she watching the servants. After I had tasted the white wine he said, "Tell me frankly, is the wine good?" I sat on her left and had on my left Princess Susie Belosselsky, Grand Duke Vladimir being on her right, Princess Fürstenberg on the right of Witte, and Countess Goudovitch on his left.

"After dinner, instead of allowing the Grand Duke to choose his players for bridge, as is customary, Countess Witte arranged that Vladimir, her husband, Countess Fersen, and Countess Orloff-Davidoff play at one table, Princess Belosselsky, Savinsky, Fürstenberg and myself at another. The Duke did not look very pleased with the arrangement as he likes to have

the best players at his table. We played until midnight. I spoke to Witte about the palace that had been arranged for the Duma, how well it had been done and in what good taste; my only criticism was that they had given too good a place to the press. It would have been better to have them in the gallery and not on the floor where they can talk to the members.

"*April 29.*—Dine at Princess Olga Orloff's in Tsarskoë Selò. Dinner given for Grand Duke Vladimir. Among other guests was General Trèpoff, who had been Governor General of St. Petersburg. After dinner I had an opportunity to have a chat with him. I complimented him on the ability he had shown in governing St. Petersburg after the disturbance of January 22, 1905, and the order that he had maintained. He told me that he was on his way to Manchuria and was to have had his audience with the Tsar when he was suddenly named Governor General of St. P. It had been a very difficult and trying position, and it was a real pleasure and comfort when he was relieved. He spoke of how much some newspaper journalists did by misrepresenting conditions and circumstances; then, speaking of the Duma, he assured me that he considered it a serious time for the Government, as all the members elected practically were opposed to the administration. The Duma required a leader of force and character, combining tact and skill, able to meet the emergencies which would surely arise. Would that man rise, and what line would be taken? At that moment the Grand Duke

sent for me to make up a *partie de bridge*; for once I was sorry to have to play.

"*May 2.* — Cable the Department that Witte has resigned and the Emperor has accepted his resignation — Goremykin his probable successor.

"Drive Major Gibson¹ out to Krestovsky to see my polo ponies which have been wintering there. On returning, call at the Foreign Office, it being the day for Lamsdorff to receive the Diplomatic Corps. Russianlike they knew nothing about Witte's resignation, and I was able to inform the diplomats myself that it would be official by to-morrow. This knowledge was due to special official information which I had received.

"Among other things which I saw Lamsdorff about was the export duty on old and worn-out rubber shoes, which we buy in America for making rubber tires. Lamsdorff remarked, 'What an extraordinary matter for diplomatic *pourparlers!*' and then laughed.

"Play bridge at Countess Mengden's, Palace of the late Grand Duke Serge. Nothing but Russians present; I being the only stranger, I felt quite complimented. I played with Madame Orloff and Prince Youssoupoff. At half past 12 we stopped and had a sit-down supper.

"*May 5.* — Play bridge at Prince Youssoupoff's. His palace is on a par with the great palaces of Rome. The white marble escalier is more dignified than any I remember in Rome. One room is about 80 feet long; the walls are covered with tapestries that were given to the Youssonpoffs by the King of France .

¹ Military Attaché of the American Embassy.

when Comte du Nord (Emperor Paul) was visiting Paris. The salon in which the Princess was serving tea was full of Greuzes, and there is also a remarkable gallery with Rembrandts and other *chefs d'œuvre*, besides a unique little theatre."

To Senator Lodge

¹ ST. PETERSBURG, May 7, 1906.

MY DEAR CABOT, —

. . . Witte, as I prophesied in my letter, has resigned, and his resignation has been accepted, as well as that of Dournovo, the Minister of the Interior.

The formal ceremonies of inaugurating the Duma will follow the custom in Berlin and Vienna, of having the members assemble in the Palace, where the Emperor will make his address from the throne. The Duma will be in the control of the Constitutional Democrats and their candidate for President of the Duma is a certain Professor Muromtseff, a man of ability and character. The trouble will be, however, that none of the members will have had any parliamentary experience, and it remains to be seen whether they will develop the power of self-control and the necessary judgment to enact wise legislation, so needful to the country.

Everything is at present an unknown quantity as to what action the Duma will take, the Government hoping that they will simply organize and perform the necessary perfunctory legislation and then adjourn until the autumn; but such action would be very unsatisfactory to the peasants and all people interested in reform.

I am happy to say my wife and daughters apparently escaped any serious injury from the railroad accident which occurred on their way from Cherbourg to Paris.¹ It might

¹ They arrived safe in St. Petersburg, May 14.

have been most serious, and is thought to be the result of the strikes which are going on in France.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

"*May 10.* — Beautiful bright summer's day. Opening of the Duma.

"Drive to the Winter Palace at 1 P.M., as the invitation instructed me to be there at 1.15. The carriage enters the gate of the garden from the Palace Square, to a special door for the diplomats. We, the *Chefs de Mission*, assemble in a circular room, and, while waiting, several of the Russians pass through in their Court costumes, the ladies with their headgear and court trains, most striking and fine-looking — the Princess Troubetskoy, *née* Dolgorouky, the handsomest. All the dresses were off the shoulders and a beautiful neck was seen to great advantage and occasionally generously displayed. At half-past one, one of the masters of ceremonies gave the signal and we marched two by two through several great halls and salons to the St. George's Hall. The Turkish and French Ambassadors led off, then the Italian and myself, behind us the German and the Spanish, on account of the Austrian and English not being present. All the Russian officials and ladies of the Court were in their places, and we walked through lines of beautiful ladies on one side and officials and officers in brilliant costumes and uniforms, until we reached St. George's Hall. A number of ladies and officers

greeted me in a very charming manner as I passed; the Russians, when you get to know them well, are the most informal and affable people in the world.

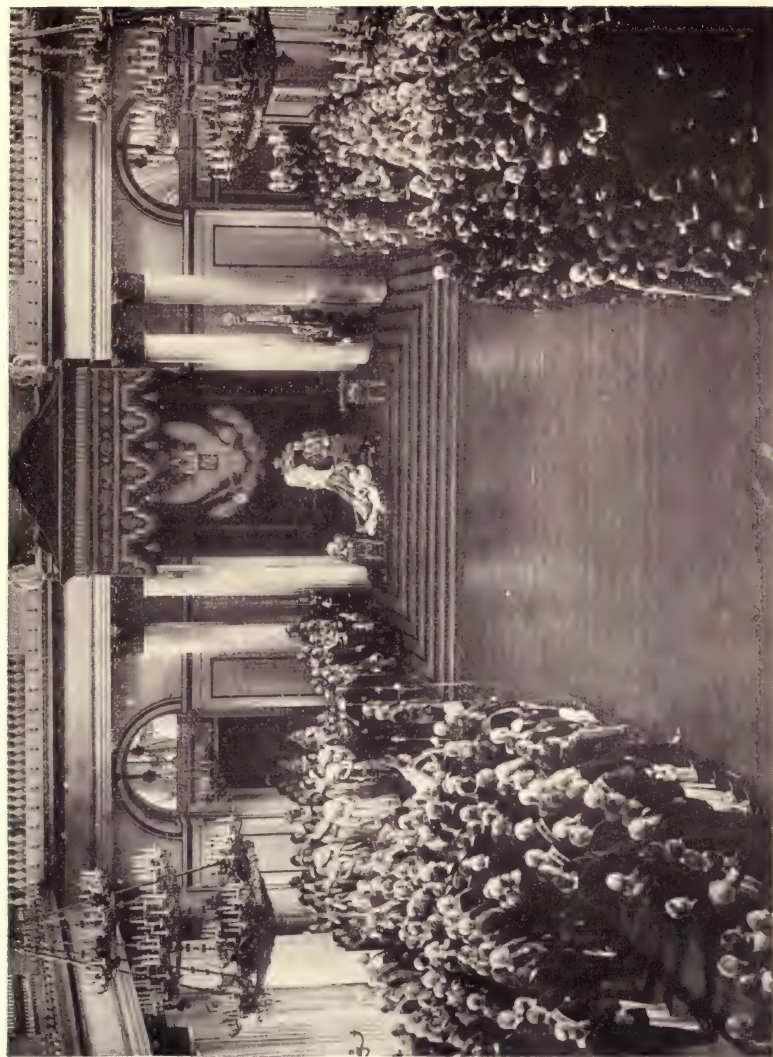
"In St. George's Hall the space allotted to the Ambassadors and Ministers was a raised stage, but on the right side of the hall near the entrance. The stage on the other side of the entrance directly opposite to where we stood was not occupied and might have been assigned to the ladies of the Diplomatic Corps.

"The entire left side of the Hall was occupied by the members of the Duma, and they were peasants, shopkeepers, priests, merchants, lawyers, even a dentist and a Catholic bishop. Perhaps a third were in dress-suits, half a dozen in uniform, and many in simple peasant costume and rough clothes. All this made a strange contrast with the officers in their silver or gold-lace uniforms, members of the Council with decorations, and members of the Court. On one side were the representatives of the people and on the other those of the bureaucracy past and present. Those on the right had shown themselves unequal to the task of satisfactorily governing the nation. Would the left be equal to the occasion? Judging simply from appearances, it was not encouraging. It would have been interesting to have been able to compare them with the Assembly of Louis XIV.

"At a quarter of two one heard in the distance the national anthem, played by the trumpeters, growing gradually louder as the Emperor and his courtiers approached. Finally the doors were thrown open, and

first came richly attired court servants, then two masters of ceremonies, each bearing an Imperial golden eagle, followed by others carrying the Sword of State, the Seal of the State, the Imperial Banner, the globe, the sceptre, and finally the crown, glittering with beautiful jewels. Directly behind the crown came twelve Palace grenadiers, wearing uniforms of a century ago. Immediately after came His Imperial Majesty, with the Empress Alexandra on his left and the Empress Dowager on his right. The Grand Dukes Michel and Vladimir and the remainder of the Imperial family followed in order of precedence. Half-way down the hall the Emperor stopped and kissed the cross in the hands of the High Priest, and then the religious ceremony commenced with chanting and choir. That finished, the Emperor proceeded alone to the throne, where he seated himself while the two Empresses walked to the right of the throne and remained standing. The Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses assembled further to the right, but not on the steps of the throne.

“In watching the deputies I was surprised to note that many of them did not even return the bows of His Majesty, some giving an awkward nod, others staring him coldly in the face, showing no enthusiasm, and even almost sullen indifference. As he rose again from the throne, there was an absolute stillness. He then proceeded in a firm voice to read his address. When he finished there was a tremendous outbreak of applause, but limited almost entirely to the right side of the hall, the deputies remaining quiet. As he



THE OPENING OF THE DUMA

descended from the throne and the members of the royal household formed in line according to their rank, the applause and shouting on the right continued and increased, but the marked silence on the left was ever noticeable. The Emperor carried himself with dignity under the trying ordeal, and should receive credit for what he said in his address to the members of the Duma. Judging merely from appearances, it was difficult to recognize any marked ability or distinguishing trait among the members of the Duma which would specially fit them for the great task that is before them; but the contrast between those on the left and those on the right was the greatest that one could possibly imagine, one being a real representation of different classes of this great Empire, and the others of what the autocracy and bureaucracy have been.

“The peasants have come here for the reforming or even the repealing of the laws of property, in order that they may gain by a division of the land. It is said that they desire to go so far as to introduce laws forbidding the land-owners to possess more than a certain amount of land. When land is thus given up, it is to be divided among the peasants of the district and paid for at a certain price.

“On the other hand the Democratic party has been making a great many promises which it will be unable to fulfil. Whether an eventual conflict can be avoided between the Crown and the Duma remains to be seen; but with the overwhelming majority of the Constitutional Democrats in the Lower House, it would appear

wise for the Tsar to select a Cabinet at once from their number, in order that they should be held responsible to the people for the acts of the Duma.

"*May 11.* — Went to the first session of the re-organized Council of Empire, held in the Hall of the Noblesse, a very dignified and handsome hall with pillars and columns which go round the hall leaving a broad corridor and perfect circulation. It is located on the Place Michel.

"It is now made up of 90 Senators elected and 90 named by the Emperor. The personnel is very different from that of the Duma. The 90 chosen by the Emperor are naturally members of the former bureaucracy, but some have seen light and have liberal tendencies; of those chosen, practically all are liberal or so inclined with conservative tendencies. I met one elective senator. He impressed me very favourably, but they are all very ignorant of parliamentary procedure and practical constitutional government. Nothing was done at this session beyond organizing.

"It is quite remarkable what interest all the Russians take in Gorky having been turned down in America and how much it pleases them. It is very noticeable that in all the salons now political discussions take place with absolute freedom and no restraint, and great interest shown, as well as doubt as to the future. There is a great awakening in Russia.

"*May 12.* — Comte Lamsdorff calls and leaves a *p.p.c.* card, with a line drawn through Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Iswolsky, former Minister at Copenhagen, named

officially as Lamsdorff's successor. The Duma has its second meeting. Muromtseff, the President, announces that he has reported his election to the Emperor. It is said that he was much impressed by the Emperor and that the Emperor found the President of the Duma sympathetic. This is very important, if true, for the reason that if they understand and trust each other, they will then be able to accomplish much in the way of reform and future progressive actions.

"The Duma spent its time on the questions and petitions for amnesty.

"*May 14.* — A workman in the Navy Yard stabs the Admiral with an old rusty file because he would not give them a holiday. The common people are very barbaric and unruly. Yet amnesty is said to be desired for all political prisoners, whether they have committed murder or not. The Duma may come to a deadlock with the Emperor on this question. He might as well abdicate if he includes those guilty of murder or bomb-throwing.

"To-day is Russian 1st May, but there have been practically no disturbances throughout the country.

"It is reported that the body of Father Gapon has been found.¹

"*May 15.* — At half-past four Alice and I go to the palace of the Grand Duke Vladimir to pay our respects to the Grand Duchess — it being her fête day.

"The reply to the speech from the throne was submitted to the Duma to-day. It demands complete po-

¹Gapon's murder is dramatically described in *The Eclipse of Russia*, by E. J. Dillon, pp. 168-171.

litical amnesty as the first pledge of understanding between the Tsar and the people; also deals with the agrarian question. A peasant deputy compared the Council of the Empire to old rotten beams used in the building of a new edifice.

"*May 19.*— The bag brought a letter from the President enclosing all the correspondence, letters, and cables, for the last year, over the Morocco Conference. This includes the President's personal correspondence with the Emperor William. Feel very flattered that he should have taken the trouble to do this, and shall consider it confidential as requested.

"The President quotes a cable last summer dated July 22, from Emperor William, in which he says: 'I have just seen the Emperor of Russia. He is tranquil and peaceably inclined, appreciates your efforts, likes your Ambassador, Mr. Meyer, and trusts him, and hopes with your influence over Japan that you will be able to induce Japan to make reasonable terms for peace.' This, the President says, he forgot to read me last autumn.

"*May 20.*— The Emperor has refused to receive the delegation appointed to present the address in answer to the speech from the throne. Informs the Duma that it should be sent through the minister of the Court."

To President Roosevelt

ST. PETERSBURG, 3/21 May, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of April 30, enclosing copies of letters and cables covering over a year in connection with a certain conference.

I appreciate very much your taking this trouble, as it interested me immensely, and shall naturally consider it confidential. What an insight it gives into the character of a certain individual playing a most prominent part on the world's stage!

The reception given by the Tsar in the Winter Palace to the members of the Duma, and his address from the throne, made a strong impression upon me. On the right were all the members of the bureaucracy and autocracy in their gala uniforms, and on the left the members of the Duma, a few in dress clothes but many in simple and rough attire, including the peasants in their long boots and shock hair. The address was received with enthusiasm on the right and absolute silence on the left, and even the salute, in many instances, received no recognition or response, which was most surprising to the Russians, as one has always been told that the peasants would fall on their knees in the presence of their Emperor.

Some of the papers have been criticizing the following sentence in the Emperor's address as reactionary — although to my mind it might have been said by a President of the United States without criticism: "Not only is liberty necessary, but also order, as the basis of law."

The Duma as at present constituted contains practically but one party, the Cadets. The minority is infinitesimal and without any leaders. The majority is so overwhelming that debate is all one-sided. The choice of the presiding officer,

known as President, Mr. Muromtseff, is in all probability a happy one. The part which he is to play will require not only ability but amiability, coupled with tact and patience.

Russia is entering upon a great experiment, ill-prepared and really uneducated. Will this great majority in the Duma formulate legislation only after due consideration and without precipitation?

In its address in reply to the speech from the throne the Duma states that it expects a full political amnesty as the first pledge of a mutual understanding and agreement between the Tsar and his people. To meet the needs of the peasantry, it affirms that the Duma would not be doing its duty if it did not make a law for the satisfaction of agrarian needs by the aid of crown domains, monastic lands, and by the compulsory expropriation of land belonging to owners of estates. It considers that the death penalty is not advisable as a basis for judicial sentences. Popular education is another task that lies before the Duma, and emphasis is placed upon the absolute necessity of passing definite laws assuring inviolability of person, liberty of conscience, speech, the press, association, meeting, and strikes.

No Imperial Council, the Duma thinks, composed of appointed dignitaries and persons elected by the highest classes of the population, should stand between the Duma and the Throne. At the same time, the principle of responsibility of the administration to the representatives of the nation must be adopted.

It is pointed out that only when Ministers are made responsible to the people, can the idea of absolute responsibility of the Monarch take root in the hearts of the people, and therefore only a Ministry enjoying the confidence of the Duma can strengthen the confidence in the Government.

In order to perfect the principles of popular representa-

tion, the Duma will submit a bill on universal suffrage in accordance with the unanimously expressed will of the people.

As showing the differences of opinion, I quote the following as an expression from a member of the Duma: "An amnesty is indispensable, because all Russians who endeavoured to overturn the Government are patriots, and those who risked their lives in taking the lives of the oppressors are the most heroic of all. For these, therefore, an amnesty is more necessary than for the men in prison for lesser offences."

On the other hand an aristocratic dignitary said: "If the Tsar admits even implicitly that one Russian may murder another and merit approval because his motives are political, then the Tsar has virtually signed his abdication. Likewise, if the Emperor allows the principle of private property to be violated in favour of the peasants against the gentry, he cannot prevent the application of the same rule in favour of the indigent against the well-to-do peasant."

It is difficult to see how the Emperor will consent to the suppression of the Council of Empire, created by himself, and constituting an upper chamber.

The desire of the Duma to secure a monopoly of legislation, if pressed, is likely to cause a crisis. Then again, can the transfer of land which is already personal property, to the Russian peasant, be affected without a struggle?

The Court party appears to be labouring under the delusion that the Duma misrepresents the nation. They apparently are as blind to the storm that is gathering as they were to the evidences which foretold a naval defeat to Rodjestvensky.

I cannot help but take a pessimistic view as to the future, when I see evidences almost everywhere of a communistic spirit among the workmen and peasants. Added to this is the fact that the Government throughout the year has been driving even

the moderate element, which now are unorganized, over to the Extremists.

From the above I do not mean to imply that a crash is coming at once, but that sooner or later a struggle on these questions between the Crown and the Duma, unless all signs fail, is more than probable. To-day the Government is in possession of funds and the Army, but within three years the entire Army will have been recruited, and with the new ideas and doctrines that are permeating the minds of the people who can tell if the Government can then rely upon the troops to obey the officers and quell disturbances.

Believe me, Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

P.S. Monsieur Iswolsky, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a secretary at the Russian Legation in Washington under Mr. Struve. He has also held posts in Rome, Darmstadt, Tokyo, and lately was Minister at Copenhagen. His experience in the diplomatic service has been quite extensive and is always most useful to a Minister of Foreign Affairs. I think the office will be run with more expedition. This task, however, will prove more difficult than that of his predecessor, as he will have to follow the proceedings of both the Duma and the reorganized Council of Empire. I have found him very prompt in attending to matters that I have brought to his attention so far.

[*Diary*]

"*May 26.*—Took Alice and the girls to the Duma. It was a memorable day, as the Prime Minister, Goremykin, announced from the Tribunal that amnesty would not be granted or expropriation con-

sidered. At the conclusion of the Prime Minister's remarks there was not a sign of approval of any sort. Then speeches were made by several of the members criticizing in very strong language the announcement, finally demanding the resignation of the Cabinet in which the Duma had lost all confidence, and demanding that it be selected from the Duma. Many Russians of prominence were present, showing much interest and some resentment at the Duma's action and final resolution.

"*June 8.* — Give a dinner of 22 for the German Ambassador and Madame de Schoen and the British Ambassador and Lady Nicolson. Mr. de Lövenörn, the Danish Minister, sent word at half-past two that the Grand Duchess Vladimir had sent for him to come to dinner and therefore he would not be able to keep his engagement. The Grand Duchess never invites her guests until the day of a dinner, and consequently continually upsets dinner parties, which is most trying to the host and no compliment to the people that she invites at the last moment. On two occasions I refused to throw over the French Ambassador's dinner and on another occasion the German Ambassador's — I felt it was only due to my colleagues as Ambassadors.

"*June 13.* — Colonel Bryan (William Jennings Bryan) and his wife arrive in St. Petersburg. He and his wife lunch with us. Bryan said to me, 'I see that the papers say I have grown more conservative. I am, as a fact, more radical now than I was four years ago. It is the sentiment in the United States

that has changed. The people look differently at some of the things that I advocated and now no longer consider them dangerous.'

"Mrs. Bryan is a quiet, ladylike, simple person with nice eyes. I arranged that we would go to the Duma to-morrow morning, and would call on Mr. Iswolsky by appointment at the Foreign Office to-morrow afternoon at 5 o'clock.

"Bryan was in very good spirits after his travels. He has become broadened and more the man of the world.

"He told a very good story at the table about the man out West who went into a small baker's shop and asked if they had pies such as mother used to make. 'Yes,' they replied. 'Exactly the same as mother made?' 'Yes.' 'Well, then,' he said, 'give me something quite different!'

"*June 14.* — Colonel Bryan arrived with his wife at 11 A.M., in coupé with a smart pair of grey horses, coachman in livery and a cockade in his hat. Bryan himself wore a silk hat. If some of his Western admirers could have seen him, they would have had a surprise.

"I put my wife in the coupé with Mr. Bryan. We somehow had changed places. I was in a rough suit and he in frock coat. As our wives drove off I said to him, 'We will be democratic and get into a droshky.' 'All right,' he replied with a twinkle in his eye, showing that he caught on to my point.

"I presented Bryan to Count Potocki and Princess Galitzine.

"At 5 o'clock we called on Iswolsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who appeared to be posted as to Mr. Bryan's career and even to his movements lately. Iswolsky was exceptionally frank as to the situation and the Duma. Believed the Duma was not in sympathy with the present Cabinet in any way, and as it was taken from the bureaucratic element he felt that it could not work with this Duma. He was prepared to resign, and even advocated it and selecting a Cabinet from the Cadets in the Duma: this would make them realize more fully the difficulties and in the end cause them to be more conservative. He also spoke very strongly on expropriation of private land and the payment of about half-value, as out of the question; that the Government was formulating a scheme which it had not yet fully announced. Colonel Bryan spoke of the safety of letting off steam, which he compared to allowing people to speak and say what was on their minds, and that when people were put in power and made responsible they became more conservative and reasonable. Expressed the belief that later the Duma would line up with two or three parties, and in leaving said to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that he hoped the Duma and the Government would find a common ground on which they could work together understandingly.

"*June 20.* — Call on Goremykin, the Prime Minister, by appointment at 1 o'clock. Receives me very cordially. I tell him that I appreciate his giving me time when he must be terribly busy. He goes on to say how difficult his task is; that the Duma is nothing

more than an organized revolutionary body; that expropriation is merely a platform with them; that nothing the Government might offer would satisfy; and as a proof of this tells me that the Government is working out a land scheme which the Duma refuses even to consider. He complains of the press, especially the English, misrepresenting the actual condition of affairs; says he does not understand it, does not want to think that England desires to see Russia weakened, but prefers to believe it is due to the Jews who own so many influential journals in England. Informed me that there was an active propaganda going on distributing revolutionary literature among the troops. He realized that Russia was passing through a crisis which would have to spend its force, much as an epidemic of measles. He did not impress me as a man of force or equal in any way to the present situation. Does not appreciate the new sentiment which has permeated the people, nor does he understand the Duma or take into account that representative government has now got a footing, and that consideration of the Duma's wishes must hereafter receive attention, and not be thwarted or scorned if the Tsar wishes to keep his throne.

"*June 24.* — My 48th birthday — time and years are flying!

"Receive a cable from the State Department saying, 'The President wishes you to take the earliest occasion to informally ascertain whether the reports of the acquiescence of local authorities in the recent deplorable massacre of Jews at Bialostok are unfounded

or not,' etc. I wrote to Iswolsky and asked him kindly to name the earliest moment to-day or to-morrow that he could see me conveniently. Word came back to call at the Foreign Office at 4.30 this afternoon. I know perfectly well that the Russian Government has our code, so I went with a typewritten copy of the translation of the cable. Mr. Iswolsky seemed rather nervous when he received me and I said I would like to read a cable message; got quite excited and said, 'What sort of a message? I do not understand.' All of which was unnatural and unnecessary had he not already known of my cable through code in their possession. When I said it was about the Jews and the massacre at Bialostok, he said he must decline to discuss it, as it was an internal affair, even informally or for information; that he could only refer to the *communiqué* of the Minister of the Interior which had been published and sent to all the Governors and *préfets*, instructing them to take the greatest precautions and not to delay, as quick action would prevent further disturbances, etc.

"June 25. — English Ambassador, Sir Arthur Nicolson, called on me by appointment at 11 A.M. Informed me that he has also called on Iswolsky to obtain information informally as to the Government's attitude on the Jewish Massacre. The Minister of Foreign Affairs apparently was quite put out and declined to talk on the subject and referred him, as he did me, to the official communication of the Minister of the Interior. Nicolson assured him, as I had done, it was not the desire to criticize the Government or

seem inquisitorial (as I had also stated), but merely to put his government, if Russia desired to, in such a position as to prevent public opinion becoming incensed through the exaggerated accounts of the press.

"*June 26.* — Yesterday Count Westphalen¹ said at polo, 'I hear you and the English Ambassador received a refusal at the Foreign Office.' I merely replied, 'Where did you get that idea?' He hesitated and said, 'I think my Ambassador told me.' This morning I met the British Ambassador, Nicolson, and told him the remark of Westphalen, at the same time asking him if he thought that Iswolsky could have talked about it to one of our colleagues; that it would be bad for public sentiment if it got into the American papers. He acknowledged having mentioned it himself to the French and German Ambassadors, but felt sure he had not spoken of my experience. Asked if I thought Bompard or Schoen would repeat it.

"*June 28.* — The British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Nicolson, called this morning at 10.30 to inform me that it was evidently Schoen, the German Ambassador, who had been told by Iswolsky that the British Ambassador and myself had spoken informally on the Russian-Jewish massacres and that he had refused to discuss it, etc. It is rather strange that Iswolsky should repeat this to Schoen, and is not quite good form. They have, however, been former colleagues, and the course of events is throwing Germany and Russia together. It is greatly to Germany's interest that the revolution should not make too much progress.

¹ Counsellor of the Austrian Embassy.

Russia assisted in the past to put down the revolution in Hungary. Germany or Austria may in a similar event slip in and attempt the same thing in order to discourage Socialism.

"*July 8.* — Alice, the girls, and myself go with a party to the Princess Orloff's at Strelna. Just as we reached there a tremendous thunder-storm came up and lasted for an hour. At half-past four we all drove to the boat-landing and went out to their steam yacht, reaching it as the clouds parted and the sun came out. We steamed all around the 'Bay,' and finally, through the stupidity of the Captain, got aground, and after much difficulty got off. It was a very good example of Russian incapacity as mariners. Later we steamed in and around Kronstadt, saw the new royal yacht, which has fine lines. We dined on board our yacht at 7.30, 13 in all — Belosselskys, Cantacuzènes, Count and Countess Nieroth, Prince Galitzine, Princess Olga Orloff. Vladimir at the last moment could not get away from the Emperor.

"Came home on the yacht by the ship canal; lovely night, but damp. The canal is much larger than I imagined, and becomes after a while very monotonous. It is in reality a channel, with artificial banks on each side on which scrub trees have been planted.

"*July 11.* — Write a letter to President Roosevelt on the situation here. Send it by Conger of the Associated Press, who leaves for Berlin at 11 A.M.

"Go down to Tsarskoë Selò to dine with the Countess Orloff-Davidoff and play in bridge tournament.

"In my letter to the President I tell him of Iswolsky's refusal to discuss Byalostok or the Jewish question, and that the British Ambassador received the same refusal. I tell him of the doctor ordering me to take a cure at Kissingen on account of catarrh of the stomach. I should have done it in June, but was unable to on account of Eddy's continued absence, but must in August. The family will probably sail for home in August, and I should like to follow in September on leave, if the President has no objections.

"*July 12.* — Festa, holiday of Peter and Paul. Great many drunk on the street, as so many Russians have that name, and they are all celebrating.

"Go to the Kleinmichel House with Alice. Nearly everything packed up in cases; have decided to store them at the Embassy, and eventually to ship them to America, as under no circumstances shall I take a house again here.

"The President sent word through Cabot this spring that he intended to take me into his Cabinet either this July, or failing that, in January or March, 1907, at the latest. He also told me that verbally last November. Consequently, after I have taken my cure, if the conditions prevent or the President does not wish me to come to America in the meantime on leave, I shall take rooms at a hotel.

"*July 15.* — The peasants have begun again in different parts of the country burning and pillaging. They get drunk on vodka, and then go round burning and destroying estates. Their object is either to drive

away the proprietors or make it impossible for them to return. In this way they imagine themselves able to force the division of land among themselves. The bureaucracy have imagined that they could continue to govern 100,000,000 peasants by keeping them uneducated and living almost like animals. The peasants, having become aroused and dissatisfied, are acting like animals and without any judgment or reason. The Government and proprietors are now reaping the result of their blind and foolish policy. A thorough reorganization of the Government and a compulsory education of the people is necessary, which will require more than one generation.

“There is only one thing impossible in Russia, and that is to understand Russia. The Tsar is stronger in ideals than in achievements. The education of the masses has been shamefully neglected. The Jews have been persecuted and massacred. The bureaucracy is corrupt and unpatriotic. There are no leaders on either side. The revolutionists want capital punishment abolished, but freedom to use the bomb.

“*July 16.* — The agrarian disturbances are increasing. The Orloff estates with the famous stud and stables have been destroyed, also one of the Schirimetew estates; and there is trouble on the Mistchisky property.

“The Russian peasants’ union has issued a circular among the peasants. It claims that they should have land, liberty, and justice. In order to gain their ends, peasants who are not day labourers must therefore take no part in harvest work, so that landlords may under-

stand their wealth is due to the peasants' work alone. Day labourers must work carelessly so that landlords get no profits; they must demand higher wages, better food, and longer periods of rest. They must support the demands of the Labour Party. It ends with 'Strike while the iron is hot. The Government fears only you. It will be compelled to fulfil your demands.'

"*July 18.* — Send a dispatch on the present situation to the State Department by the English courier. It looks to-day as though the Cadets and the Crown were drifting farther apart again, and that the present Cabinet would be compelled to stay in. This would be unfortunate from my point of view. I believe the Tsar would do well to take a Cabinet from the Constitutional Democratic Party, put them in power, and make them responsible. It is the only way to make them conservative and for the Crown to gain support in the Duma while they are still loyal and in a majority.

"The Austrian Ambassador, who has been quite pessimistic, to-day felt more encouraged. He looks at it from a different point of view. Does not believe in recognizing the Democrats, thinks the Duma should be dissolved and have the struggle now, which he believes would be short-lived as the majority of the troops are now loyal. This, as I think, would not solve the problem before the country and would mean a greater and worse strife later on. Go to the Foreign Office. Find the Turkish, French, English, and German Ambassadors all calling. I also pay a call on

Goubastow, who was formerly in Rome, accredited to the Vatican.

“At 4.30 we all leave for Finland, the Government having assigned a private car for my use. D’Aehrenthal was on the train.”

For several days Meyer and his son fished for salmon on the lake at Imatra. The journal proceeds:—

“*July 21.* — Rained early in the morning. Stopped at 10 o’clock. ‘Bey’ and I went fishing. He had great sport, killed five salmon in all; the last one a large one, weighing 15 lbs.; took him down the rapids, but he saved it and landed it safely in the boat, much to his satisfaction and mine. I only killed one good-sized one, but he gave me great sport. Csekonics telegraphed, advising us not to travel on Sunday. Something must have occurred. I had already decided to leave Imatra at 4.30. Found our private car all ready for us, arrived in Petersburg at 11.15 p.m. Hibben, Third Secretary, waiting to receive us at the station; also an officer and several soldiers, who escorted us to the royal waiting-room and from there to our automobile.

“When we reached our Villa on Krestovsky, my private watchman informed me that the Government desired to send out six soldiers as a special guard. I wonder if the Emperor has decided to dismiss the Duma and they anticipate disturbances. The town of Sysran was totally destroyed yesterday by fire. The population, about 33,000, has fled to the fields. Many

lives have been lost, mostly children. The bulk of the population are without food or shelter.

"*July 22.* — The doctor arrives at 9 A.M. to see Julia, and informs my chasseur that the Duma has been dismissed. Hibben arrives at 11 A.M., but has no news to that effect. Posts me as to what has transpired the past three days. As a result of the increased popularity of the labour group, due to agitation and propaganda, the Cadets have not been able to prevent the Duma the last few days from taking on a complexion rather of a revolutionary character, which would tend to incite one part of the people against the other, and as such is regarded as an unconstitutional course. Thus an opportunity is given to the Emperor to dissolve the Duma with the possible support of the conservative classes.

"Csekonics arrived after lunch and informed me that it was not published in the morning papers, only the official messenger had announced that the Emperor was dissolving the Duma and announcing the assembling of the Duma, March 5, 1907. It appears that the Tsar considers the Duma's projected national manifesto on the agrarian question an act of open revolution, and he even reprobates the modified resolution which the Duma has finally adopted. The vote was 124 to 53, 101 of the Socialists, etc., refraining from voting. The report rejects the government agrarian proposition and appeals to the peasants to remain calm, pending the carrying out of the Duma scheme. It strongly favours expropriation of landowners. Petersburg quiet.

"*July 23.* — Goremykin's resignation has been accepted, as well as that of the Minister of Agriculture, and that of the Holy Synod also. Stolypin has been made Premier, and it is thought that the other members of the Cabinet will be requested to hold their portfolios.

"Send off a courier to Berlin with dispatches to Washington. The English, German, and Austrian Embassies also avail themselves of our bag.

"*July 25.* — Receive a cable from State Department, in which it says, 'In view of the present situation as described in your cablegrams, the President is strongly of the opinion that you should not leave Russia except for some place from which you can return at short notice.' To which I replied: 'On dissolution of Duma gave up going to Kissingen for cure in order to await results. Petersburg continues quiet; general strike now considered improbable.'

"Took the family down to Peterhof to see the Park and Palace. The Park is really lovely with its fine trees, walks, and drives running right down to the water. The fountains were all playing, and the canal extends from the Palace through the Park in a straight line to the water edge; suggests Versailles, but here all the statues are gilded, which is very barbaric. The execruciatingly bad taste displayed in the Palace and the dripping gold decorations are most offensive to the eye. It was a lovely day and we enjoyed the outing, specially the little house of Peter the Great on the water's edge. Paravicini,¹ de Stumm,² and Hender-

¹ Secretary of the Swiss Legation.

² Attaché of the German Embassy.

son¹ went with us. We remarked what a contrast it all was, the present normal conditions, to the description that was going on in the English and American papers.

“*July 26.* — Give a dinner of sixteen to celebrate Julia’s birthday on the 30th, as the family leave on that day. Petersburg continues quiet, without disturbances. A rumour has started that the Emperor in a Ukase will announce that all people will be equal before the law. This act, if it were established, would break the backbone of the revolution and stop the sinews of war coming in from the Jews, and also cause Consols to advance. Knowing, however, how deep-rooted is the prejudice against the Jew in Russia and in the government circles, it is hardly conceivable that such wisdom will be shown at this time. Something more than promises have got to be given to save the throne and the nation from revolution. It will only be effected by great concession and sacrifices. Has he the courage and strength to do so?

“*July 28.* — Play polo at Krestovsky; have four on a side. The Grand Duke Boris arrives, but is only too glad not to play on account of his clothes having been taken away. Plays tennis with Princess Susie Belosselsky against Schoen and Alice. They have to let him win, as he gets so cross if he loses. Count Westphalen² and Count Csekonics give the family a dinner in their *datcha*. Excellent dinner; Henderson,

¹ Neville Henderson, Attaché of the British Embassy.

² Counsellor of the Austrian Embassy.

Schoen, and Csekonics's cousin, the new Austrian Attaché, also present.

"August 8. — Cable Washington that the Committee that ordered the general strike have called the strike off. The failure is due to the non-participation of the railroads and the opposition of the majority of labourers to join. This makes it probably possible for me to get off to Kissingen early next week. The Government has now had considerable experience and understands better how to handle the situation.

"Dinner at the Japanese legation. Consists of British Ambassador, and Lady Nicolson, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace,¹ la Marquise de Belloy,² Comte de Grelle Rogier,³ his daughter, Mr. and Madame de Grelle, Mr. Martin,⁴ and the Japanese staff. I took in the wife of the Japanese secretary, the only Japanese lady in Petersburg. She was very difficult to talk to, as she was very nervous. She was apparently about twenty-one years old. There was an old Japanese at the table and I asked who he was. Her reply was, '*Il est mon mari.*' I should have been much less surprised if she had said, '*Mon père.*'

"August 14. — Leave Petersburg with Basil Miles at noon, on *congé* for Berlin and Kissingen; at the latter place I am to take a cure. Cable the Department that I go out of the Empire to-morrow morning; Eddy in charge.

"After we had got an hour from Petersburg I

¹ A new edition of his *Russia*, first published in 1877, had been issued in 1905.

² Wife of the French naval attaché.

³ The Belgian Minister.

⁴ Secretary of the French Embassy.

discover that I have not my passport with me. The afternoon before I left I had asked —— to look through the safe to see if there was anything of mine in it. Had he done so, he would have found my passport in an envelope with my name written on it. However, we telegraphed Iswolsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Russian, as the operator would not take it in any other language. Later, at another station, I telegraphed the Embassy to see the Foreign Office, and have them wire to Wirballen to pass me. How absurd that an ambassador cannot get out of the country without a permit from the Foreign Office! It is barbaric.

“*August 15.* — Arrive at Wirballen at 6.30 Russian time, 5.30 A.M., German. No telegrams. Little later the *wagon-lits* conductor informed me that a telegram has come with instructions to pass me over the frontier. . . .

“*Bad Kissingen, August 27.* — The courier arrives from Petersburg *via* Berlin. Brings the bag from Washington; in it was a letter from the President, dated July 28. It had evidently just lost the other bag, and then came on a slow steamer. He says, ‘Most Ambassadors go through their terms with only the chance to do respectably what any fairly good man can do respectably. Now the greatest piece of good fortune that can befall any man is to have the chance to do, at no matter what cost of personal inconvenience and risk, something worth doing; and you have had this great good fortune. Of course the most important part of your work was during the peace negotia-

tions, when you did so admirably; but it is evident that until things settle down the position of Ambassador in Russia is a working position with small certainty of holiday for the man who fills it. But, my dear George, you have at least the cold comfort of feeling that when next winter you come into the Cabinet, you have quite as hard and as irritating work here!

“ ‘Always yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.’ ”

“ I wired Stolypin,¹ ‘Please accept my heartfelt sympathy for your affliction, and also permit me to express my relief in hearing of your miraculous escape.’ His little girl had both her feet blown off and his boy of a few years a leg broken.

“ *September 1.* — I am taken to call, and presented by Mr. Adami to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. He married the sister of the King of England. He lives in England most of the time, I believe in Cumberland House. He was most agreeable, asked many questions about Russia. Asked if the Emperor was not a weak man. This I avoided by saying that he struck me as a man wanting to do the best for his country, but that he was terribly handicapped by his advisors and surroundings.

“ Prince Christian had just come back from Berlin, where he had represented the King of England at the christening. He had seen the Grand Duke Vladimir and thought he looked very badly; asked if he had kidney trouble.

“ *September 2.* — Lunch at the Kurhaus with

¹ His assassination had been attempted August 25.

Prince Christian and M. and Madame Adami. The Prince is 76, but very hale and hearty. He was very frank at lunching at not liking the domination of Prussia in Germany. This is evidently due to two causes, one living in England, and the other that Prussia has so overshadowed the other German kingdoms and principalities that it has undoubtedly aroused their jealousies."

To President Roosevelt

BAD KISSINGEN, *September 2, 1906.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Thanks for your letter of July 28. It only reached me August 27 (delay in Washington and slow steamer).

I agree with all you say, and in addition I appreciate very much having had the good fortune to have been associated with you during the peace negotiations and to have been your representative at Petersburg.

It is not the work at the Embassy that is hard now, but the task of guessing the outcome of events.

I should welcome your call next winter to come into the Cabinet, to say nothing of the honour, although you speak of cold comfort on account of the work being as hard and irritating as in St. Petersburg. No comfort can be so cold as this climate of Petersburg. As for the irritation, I had an experience in a small way while several years Speaker of the Massachusetts House, but hard work I have always liked. . . .

The terrible and dastardly attempt on Stolypin's life which resulted in the killing and mutilation of thirty or forty people, including two of his innocent children, shows you what any future leader will have to contend against. The great mass of the Russian people are not much superior to animals with

brutal instincts. For many generations they have been oppressed and taxed, uneducated, living without any comforts, barely existing. This I have seen with my own eyes. I slept two nights on the floor of different peasant cabins, while bear-shooting, only halfway between St. Petersburg and Moscow. If the Socialist or Anarchist can once disabuse the minds of these eighty million peasants of the idea that the Tsar is their Little Father, and that they can expect no further assistance from him, but must look to the people for redress, then events which have so far transpired would appear legitimate in comparison to what would probably take place throughout the land.

One must live in Russia to understand it. It is impossible to draw any conclusion from experiences and results in other countries.

Every step or attempt that has been carried on in a revolutionary way has been made without reference to what has gone on before or what is to follow. They do not know what they want, except that they want everything at once — what has taken other nations generations to acquire.

Professor Vinogradoff said the other day: "The Russian Nation will realize as other nations have done before, that a living organization cannot transform bones and sinews at pleasure; that the future has deeper roots in the past, than the present is inclined to grant."

The Revolutionists have not grasped the fact that it is as necessary for them to have organization as for established government, and strange to say, the events have not developed on either side a single man who could be pointed to as a leader or [who] stood noticeably above and superior to those about him sufficiently to impress himself upon the national mind as the man for the occasion. Consequently each reform or revolutionary party has worked for an object in its own way.

The Tsar does not seem yet to realize that in the long run the will of the people will eventually assert itself. Everything that he grants is done either too late or when it is self-evident that it is forced from him. Unless he changes his course and adopts a policy satisfactory to the nation, it is merely a question of how long the army remains loyal.

I am taking the cure here very conscientiously, getting up, every morning at 6.30, drinking three glasses of water that taste as though they had a rotten egg broken in, and taking a stiff walk of an hour up a mountain before breakfast. All walks, however, seem tame after that one you took me outside of Washington last November.

After the cure is completed here (15th September), the doctor wants me to go to the mountains for a short time, as the waters let one down.

Rest assured, Mr. President, that if the occasion is such that my presence is required in Petersburg, I shall not take an after-cure and am prepared also to leave here in the middle of my cure at a moment's notice.

Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

G. V. L. MEYER.

[*Diary*]

"*September 5.* — Grand Duke Paul of Russia arrives with his wife. She was the wife of an officer in one of the guard regiments. The Grand Duke fell in love with her. She leaves her husband and goes with the Grand Duke Paul. The Emperor banishes him from Russia. They get divorced from their respective wife and husband and are then married. The Emperor has since allowed Paul to enter Russia, but

not with his wife. They should go to New York; they would find plenty of company there.

[St. Petersburg] "*September 26.* — Dine with Sir A. Nicolson and Lady Nicolson at the British Embassy. Interesting talk after dinner with Sir Donald Mackenzie [Wallace]. As I had been absent for five weeks in Germany taking my cure, I was not sure on my return, whether it was my imagination or not, but Petersburg appeared calmer and more tranquil. He assured me that it was really a fact. He knew from good authority that the workmen had shown decided evidences of being tired of being used for political purposes, and they were becoming unwilling to obey the order of political agitators; that some of the local elections were returning candidates that were conservative and defeating Extreme Left candidates; that the 'black hundred' were increasing their influence, which goes to show people are tired and disgusted with all this destruction of property and murder by bombs, etc. If only the Government would keep its head now and not commit some action which would drive back to the ranks of the revolutionists those who were beginning to leave them!

"*September 27.* — Call by appointment at the Foreign Office at 12 o'clock on Mr. Iswolsky, the main object being to put before him the U. S. Government's plan to have Consul-Generals at large, who will be appointed over several countries. . . . I told Iswolsky that I expected early in October to go to Antoniny in Volhynia, and from there later on to Odessa. I then congratulated him on the changed atmosphere

of Petersburg, there being practically no disturbances now. He became quite frank and spoke of the English and French press, how unjust they were in the attitude they took in almost sympathizing with the terrorists and bomb-throwers. Very probably the Government had made mistakes, but how unwisely the Cadets had behaved in attempting to work with the revolutionists and then having that Viborg meeting, which action put them outside the pale of official recognition. He also praised Stolypin, who, notwithstanding that dastardly attack, had not deviated since from the course he had previously laid out. He thought he saw signs of improvement. In leaving he begged me not to go to Odessa or travel without first notifying him."

Before taking the trip to Volhynia foretold in the preceding entry, Meyer related in a letter to his wife some experiences of Russian society and sport which are worth recording.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *October 5, 1906.*

. . . Last Friday morning I again got a message from the Grand Duchess to come down and dine that evening. I had intended leaving for Narva on the five o'clock train, but could not again say that I was off shooting, so postponed leaving until next morning and went to dinner at Tsarskoë. Prince Dolgorouky and myself were bound for the same destination, and Prince Youssoupoff¹ was also on the train; he told me that he had wonderful wolf-shooting outside of Moscow, and

¹ It was in the Petersburg palace of this Prince—see p. 276, *ante*—that the monk Rasputin was murdered, December 31, 1916.



THE CHATEAU ANTONIN, VOLHYNIA

later on, if conditions would permit, that he intended to invite me to go shooting there with him.

At the Vladimirs' the guests were all assembled awaiting our arrival, and consisted of Grand Duke André, the Fersens, the Annenkoffs, Knorring, Hohenlohe, and one or two ladies-in-waiting and aides-de-camp. The dinner was informal and no champagne served, which is always the way when the Grand Duchess is there, as she realizes how bad it is for her husband. The ladies all walked in first, the men following after, every one stopping, however, in the first antecamera, in order to have zakuski, which consists as usual of caviar, raw fish, smoked fish, paté-de-foie-gras, a few *petits verres* of vodka, and the whisky which I sent the Grand Duke, which seems to be much appreciated. After dinner the Grand Duke formed his bridge tables as quickly as possible, as Dolgorouky and I had to return on the 11.07 train. The two Royal Highnesses, during the game of bridge, had a spat, and while they were having it out, I found it necessary to go and select a cigar, which took me some time, Countess Fersen claiming that I deserted her in the midst of trouble. At eleven we left for the station, and we had hardly got there when I saw the train approaching and another one coming in the opposite direction. It was necessary to get across the track, and as there is a drop of three feet, I without any ceremony jumped down and went over on to the other side. Poor old Prince Dolgorouky, with his long coat and sword, did not dare to attempt it, and it was necessary for him to go under the track by the tunnel. He consequently lost the train, the station-master refusing to hold it, and the poor old man had to wait till twenty minutes to one for the next train. I met him this morning, and he told me that he had been perfectly furious and succeeded in having the station-master dismissed.

The next morning I started for Narva in the Baltic

Provinces, where I went shooting with a Mr. Medhurst and Admiral Wirenius, Chief of Staff in the Marine Service, and who was also in command of the volunteer fleet that started from the Baltic Sea in the late war. He was a most charming old man — on one hand had only a thumb and two fingers, but he was able to manipulate his knife and fork in a most capable way, but turned out to be a very poor shot. We did not manage to do very well, it hailing one minute and later blowing very hard, and a little while later the sun coming out.

However, we had a good outing in the woods and some sport.

A most amusing incident took place. We had about forty girls and women for beaters, and such costumes you never saw; boots that came to their knees, a soiled flannel petticoat which reached to the tops of their boots, a waist that was made, in most cases, out of an old bed comforter, no hat, but frequently a small shawl pulled over their heads. They worked very hard and were very willing. In the middle of the day we all lunched in the woods, a fire being made, and the beaters surrounded us as we sat at the fire, in order to get some benefit, and without any ceremony or embarrassment commenced eating their black bread. Ours was also frugal, but tasted very well, being sliced ham, potatoes cooked in the fire, bread and butter, beer and whisky and soda. When we had finished, we gave what was left to the old women among the beaters, and then Medhurst said to me: "I will show you something that will amuse you;" so he called out in Russian that the four oldest women should each have a glass of vodka; whereupon they assembled and danced a weird, oriental step, crossing themselves and kneeling to receive the glass of vodka, which they poured down their throats as a hackman throws a glass of whisky, keeping, however, the last drop to anoint their heads. As soon as they had felt the warming effects, they again commenced to dance in the greatest

spirit, a step which resembles in some respects the Hungarian national dance. Although the women had been tramping all the morning, they started off again as fresh as could be, and kept it up till six. Then, when their labours were over, they were all obliged to assemble in pairs, one standing directly behind the other, in order that they might be counted and accounted for. Their pay is only 30 kopecks a day. I told Mr. Medhurst to tell them that I would also give them, as a *douceur*, ten kopecks apiece additional; whereupon they all made a rush and formed a circle — and for a moment I dreaded that they were going to attempt to salute my hand, as is so common among the peasants. But they took it out in running around me and screaming in Russian: “Oh, but he is a great and good man!” Admiral Wirenius, not to be outdone, then announced that he would make the same present to each of the beaters. Their joy was unbounded, and, feeling that he was of the same race, they made a rush for him and lifted him in the air, throwing him up as one tosses a man in a blanket. This they did several times, to my astonishment, and to his amusement. It exemplified, Medhurst told me, the good feeling that existed at one time between the peasants and the Russian landowners in the districts where they had always been well-treated. Shortly afterwards, they dispersed, chanting a song which you have heard the boatmen sing on the Krestovsky Canal. . . .

To-morrow evening I am leaving in a private car for Antoniny, Potocki's place, and Stumm is going on the train with me. I may decide, after staying a week there, to go on to Odessa and Sebastopol. Should I carry out that plan, I shall wire Major Gibson to meet me at Odessa.

The hunting party which Meyer joined at Antoniny, an estate of Count Potocki in Volhynia, is de-

scribed with much detail in the diary — the cosmopolitan group, Russian, Austrian, German, Brazilian, American, the luxurious establishment, including even a photographer, — “There is one man apparently on the place that does nothing else,” — the gaiety of it all, undimmed by any thought that the house itself would be one of the many in Russia of which not one stone would be left standing on another at the end of the war that was to come only ten years later. Meyer had already visited the place in the previous July, when he had thus described it in his journal: —

“Antoniny is in Volhynia. None of the estates have very old houses, as the country was continually swept and burnt by the Tartars. This place was established in 1803. The house has been continually added to, the last and principal addition being only two years ago. It is something like a French château with little pretensions to architecture exteriorly. You enter a great hall two stories high; wings run off from this like the two sides of a triangle. The decorations are French style, Louis Quinze, etc. Everything very comfortable, with modern improvements in the way of plumbing, also every other luxury in the way of excellent chef and fine wine, stable of sixty horses, two packs of hounds, pheasant shooting in the autumn, and riding to hounds across country.

“The peasants have not the sad and sullen looks which one sees now in Russia and were very respectful, always taking off their hats, and when the Count stopped to speak to them, kissing the sleeve of his coat. He has a great estate with five beet-sugar factories



HUNTING PARTY AT ANTONINY

The group includes Count and Countess Joseph Potocki, the Austrian Ambassador and Countess d'Aerenthal, Countess Gizycka, Countess Roman Potocka, the two Counts Prezezariecki, Countess Paul Zapory, Mme. Regis de Oliverira, Count László Széchényi, and Mr. Meyer.

and one up-to-date refinery, all of which must be very profitable, as he keeps a tremendous establishment, very well carried out and well done in every detail, which must consume a great deal of money, although wages here are almost nothing. The peasants live in houses with no comforts, except those of squalor. Great contrast to what you see in Germany."

The October days of hunting at Antoniny must be passed over for Mr. Meyer's summary of his entire trip in a letter written to his wife on the day of his return to the capital.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *October 28, 1906.*

As Petersburg was very quiet and conditions improving throughout the country, I took the opportunity, early in October, to travel in Russia for the purpose of seeing for myself the actual state of affairs. I went by one road to Odessa, *via* Vilna, passing through Russian Poland, and returned by another road from Sebastopol to Petersburg *via* Moscow. In this way I covered a great portion of the country from the 60th degree of latitude to the 43rd.

In passing through Vilna I saw about a hundred poor devils being escorted by Cossacks with drawn swords to a train of cars with grated windows. They were about to be transported to Siberia. If they were a fair sample of revolutionists they were certainly not prepossessing-looking — the greater number being Jews.

In Volhynia there had been some apprehension as to whether the peasants would haul the beet root to the various sugar factories, but on my arrival they had begun, as usual, to do the necessary work in that connection, to the relief of

the proprietors. I stopped a few nights with the Potockis and had to drive forty versts across country at midnight. The Government insisted upon furnishing an escort of four Cossacks in relays. It was quite unnecessary, but I could not help admiring the way they rode their horses and the endurance that the animals showed. The next day I rode across country with Potocki and his pack of hounds, after hares, and the kill was in a peasant's field many miles away from his home. A number of the peasants assembled around us, but without any demonstrations of displeasure. The following day we had a pheasant shoot on his estate, and killed over a thousand (seven guns).¹ I shot to my own gun 235.

All the way to Odessa the country shows that the peasants were ploughing their fields and hauling loads of the beet-root to the station. In the city of Odessa there are more than 150,000 Jews, being fully one third of the population. The first night I walked about the city with Major Gibson, our Military Attaché, and found the streets quite deserted. The watchmen in the middle of the streets were placed at intervals of every few hundred feet, and gendarmes with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets were at nearly every corner. The streets were absolutely quiet in consequence and I saw or heard no signs of disturbances. The Prefect had placed two police officers at the door of my hotel and desired them to follow me about, but I requested to be spared that annoyance. The next day I wandered about the docks and found them teeming with commerce, steamers loading and unloading merchandise. The Jews here are not confined to any special quarters, although they are naturally more prevalent in some parts than others.

I dined with General Baron Kaulbars, the Military Governor, in his palace. He had had a command in the last part

¹ "I asked Potocki what became of them all. He replied that they had an order for 500 from Moscow, the rest would go to Odessa and Warsaw." (Diary.)

of the war in Manchuria. After the Boxer troubles he returned home from China by the way of San Francisco, Chicago, and New York, and became an ardent admirer of America. He is an active, energetic man of about sixty years, but fine appearance, and impressed me as an honourable man, endeavouring to do his duty. He told me that he intended to establish law and order and should punish all alike, whether Jew or Russian, when guilty of crime or creating disturbances. His energy, I think, must be due to his English mother. He was exceedingly frank and talked most openly. He mentioned a society that had been formed, "Russia for Russians," its object being to arouse patriotism and oppose the revolution. He stated in rather a pessimistic way, that if Russia was to be saved, it must be through patriotism, then referred to American progressiveness and the lack of initiative or love of work among the Russians. At dinner his wife described the attempt on the life of her husband a short time ago. It appears that the daughter of a General, and the former schoolmate of his daughter, came to see him. She had the day before lunched with the family. She spoke of her father's death and her troubles. General Kaulbars expressed so much sympathy for her that she broke down when he told her that she should look to him as her future father. Immediately after, she left the house, dropping a bomb on the sidewalk which only partly exploded. She then fled to her hotel next door and shot herself in her room.

It appears that she had arrived in Odessa with her lover. In several instances the revolutionists, in these attempts, have hidden behind women's skirts. They gain the affection of a young woman and then bind her to commit the crime. In this case again, the man escaped. Baroness Kaulbars said that she had evidently been unnerved by the General's sympathy and either dropped the bomb by mistake, or hoped it would destroy

her, because, as she had failed to make the attempt, she knew that she would be condemned to death by her own society.

I asked Kaulbars about the class of Jews that were to sail shortly for America. He smiled and replied that they had seven million in Russia that we were welcome to. I informed him that I had that morning warned the steamship agent that of the thousand that were shortly to be shipped from Odessa to New York, if any had criminal records or were unable to pass our medical inspection, they would have to be brought back to Odessa at the expense of the steamship company.

The Military Governor showed me the whips made of twisted wire with a lead ball on the end which had been taken away from revolutionary students. They carry them hooked to their sleeves on the inside of their coats. He also showed me the Cossack whip, which is almost equally cruel, but without the lead ball or wire. The Préfet of the city, who was at the dinner, extended me the use of his box at the opera. General Kaulbars sent his A.D.C. and excused himself, as he had received a letter that morning assuring him that he was to be killed. He added that he did not feel it was right to expose us, as his would-be assassins were indifferent to the lives of others when using the bomb.

At the opera General Kaulbars's brother assured me that while his brother was in command of Odessa there would be no pogroms. I found Cohen in Odessa. I had previously met him in Petersburg. He is investigating, as you know, the emigration and Jewish question. He will be able to gather a good deal of information, but not always absolutely reliable, as he is not able to stay in a place long enough to verify everything, and in most cases he will only hear the Jewish side. The Government officials, in reporting disturbances, often leave out evidence that would be detrimental to them, and the Jews also frequently make statements based on rumours [of events] which have never

actually taken place. The facts are generally bad, without requiring exaggeration on either side.

From Odessa I took the steamer to Sebastopol, which is a closed port, but England and Turkey still continue to hold their Consuls, to the annoyance of the Russians. The British Consul's name is Erskine. His grandfather was Minister to Washington in the early part of our history, and married Miss Cadwalader, of Philadelphia.

We were met as our steamship came up to the pier by an A.D.C. of Admiral Skrydloff's and an A.D.C. of the General of the fortifications. They never left our sides; whether it was entirely courtesy, or due to the fact that I had a Military Attaché with me, I will not say. They took us in the Admiral's steam launch about the harbour, which seemed as dead as that of Salem. I supposed that they were going to show us the fortifications and barracks, and consequently Major Gibson's interest was getting aroused. We landed, but ended in the cemetery only — there we were permitted to walk about freely.

Not many years ago the harbour was the scene of an attempted revolution, which resulted in the sinking of a transport and the burning of a new cruiser which had just been on a trial trip and constructed as fireproof. On that occasion the red flag suddenly appeared in the streets of Sebastopol, and whoever met it was compelled to raise his hat. About three months ago Admiral Skrydloff succeeded Admiral Chuknin, who had been shot in the garden of his villa, by a sailor whom he had befriended and made his gardener. The present commander, in speaking of the disturbances, remarked that they would never succeed as long as the mutineers were unable to induce the officers to join. Admiral Skrydloff was the officer sent out to Vladivostok to take command of the flying squadron. He got drunk out there (nothing very rare in the Russian Navy) and was not permitted to take command.

The previous British Consul had taken rooms in the top of the highest dwelling-house. Soon afterwards he was requested to change his domicile because it commanded a view of the fortifications. The Panorama Building, containing a painting of the French storming the fortifications, is on the highest point of land adjoining the city. The officers who accompanied us politely opposed my ascending to the top of the building, but as I insisted, they could say no more. I found that when I got up there it gave a complete view of the fort and the new fortifications constructed in late years, which explained their objections. The next day we drove eighty versts to Yalta, on the Crimean coast, stopping at the battlefield of Balaclava. I can now understand why Lord Cardigan made that charge—it was an ideal, long, smooth field, for a hunting man such as he was, accustomed to ride to hounds.

The coast, after one passes the Gates of Baidai, is much finer than the Riviera, and reminded me somewhat of the drive from Sorrento to Amalfi. Much attention is being paid to the cultivation of the grape and they are producing an excellent wine, in which the royal family have a very large interest.

At Yalta I was escorted by a company of Tartars dressed as Cossacks to the Palace of the Emperor at Livadia. It is an ideal place, beautifully laid out, and formerly belonging to the Potockis. From there I drove over the mountains to Bakchiserai, an ancient Tartar capital on a military road 80 versts long; and for the first time in Russia I saw a road really properly constructed and such as one might find in France. The ascent is very gradual and through beautiful forests, but one rises finally to the height of 4,000 feet. From Simferopol, where my car was awaiting me, I proceeded to Moscow. There I had the good fortune to be invited to lunch by the Grand Duchess Serge,¹ who is living in the Kremlin Palace. She in-

¹ Born Princess Elizabeth of Hesse.

formed me that her interests were no longer English or German, but she had become entirely Russian in her sympathies and ideas. You will remember that she was born German and her mother was English. She is very beautiful and has great charm of manner. The amount of money which was expended on the addition to the Kremlin Palace after Napoleon's departure from Moscow, which took sixteen years to construct, must have been something stupendous. This expenditure, and the innumerable treasures in gold and silver in the various Moscow churches would go very far towards paying the war debt. One cannot help feeling what a pity it is that some of this money has not been spent in educating and improving the conditions of the hundred millions of peasants, many of whom live in a manner fit only for animals.

Except for the armed gendarmes in the cities of Moscow and Odessa, and troops stationed in two of the railway depots, nowhere had I seen the slightest sign of disturbances or evidence of revolution. The people appeared peaceable and industrious, according to their mode of life, and we were treated with courtesy and consideration wherever we went. By this I do not mean to imply that disturbances or troubles are over. I think it is only a lull and that now the minds of the people are taken up and occupied with the coming elections. My own impression is that the Duma, when it assembles next March, will be fully as radical, if not more so, than the last one.

With a great deal of love for the girls and yourself, ever,
Your affectionate,

HUSBAND.

[*Diary*]

"October 28. — Arrived in Petersburg at 10 A.M. It was quite cold, water in the fields had frozen during the night.

"It struck me as I drove to the hotel through the Nevsky that the street seemed very deserted for that time in the morning. When I reached the hotel I learned that while 600,000 roubles was being transported through the city, Saturday A.M., some men surrounded the wagon, which was being guarded by half a dozen soldiers and threw a bomb, and in a few seconds a second. This smashed all the windows in the opposite houses and caused a stampede. In the confusion the money was seized by the conspirators and handed to a woman, who drove off instantly in a carriage. Shots were exchanged, but the thieves escaped with half the money, about 300,000 roubles.

"I visited the place in the afternoon and found very little damage was done except to the windows, and evidently the bombs that were used were meant to frighten rather than to injure, which was exactly the result accomplished.

"Call on Lady Nicolson and find the Ambassador and Sir Donald MacKenzie [Wallace] there also. They all wanted to know if it was true that they were going to lose me and I was going home to enter President's Roosevelt's family.

"*November 5.* — The American papers arrive announcing that it is official — the changes in the Cabinet. Cortelyou to become Secretary of the Treasury; Bonaparte, Attorney General; myself Postmaster General; Metcalf, Secretary of Navy; and Straus, Commerce and Labour. The latter is a Jew, and [it is] the first time a Jew has been in a President's Cabinet. I had imagined that I was to be

Secretary of the Navy, as that was the original plan, Bonaparte to Moody's place, and I to slip into that of Bonaparte. Postmaster General outranks Secretary of Navy, but I do not believe it will be as interesting. The cost of maintenance is about \$200,000,000, and I believe the deficit for the year [is] about \$11,000,000, due chiefly to the second-class matter.

"*November 16.*—Dine with Mrs. Napier and Colonel Napier.¹ Prince von Bülow, in his speech at the Reichstag on the modern diplomat, said the diplomatist who keeps in touch with banking and commercial circles, who knows how to deal with the press, who numbers influential members of Parliament and men of affairs among his friends, will have a great advantage over his colleagues. The man who succeeded was more commonly the man who could turn the situation to best account. There was such a thing as 'mimickry' in diplomacy, and he sometimes advised young diplomats to take for their model Alcibiades, who was intellectual with the Athenians, ate black broth with the Spartans, and wore flowing garments among the Persians. The profligacy of Alcibiades need not be imitated, but faculty of adaptation did not imply lack of character or exclude real patriotism. The diplomatist ought not to be guided by preconceived notions or fixed sympathies or enmities.

"*November 23.*—The German Emperor the other day at Munich, in talking with the novelist Ganghofer, spoke in praise of optimism: 'I myself work on without being disheartened and I believe I actually make

¹ Military Attaché to British Embassy.

progress.' He praised Ganghofer's remark in a novel that 'the man who is suspicious wrongs others and injures himself.'

"Clemenceau a few days later in an interview said, 'I do not want any war and if one does not want war one wants good relations.'

"Pichon, the new minister of Foreign Affairs, said the next day, 'I really do not see why we should not have good relations with Germany.' All this may have a good effect.

"*December 3.* — Dine at the Marquise de Belloy's.

"Gurka, assistant Minister of the Interior, dismissed — on account of the scandal of [\$?] 10,000,000 food contract for delivery of wheat in the famine district. The contract was given to one Lyndal to furnish the grain, and \$400,000 advanced. The party had never dealt in grain before, but in plumbing materials. It is a severe crack at the Cabinet, and much political capital is being made out of it. The Emperor has appointed a committee to investigate.

"*December 4.* — Find a cable when I return to my room this evening from T. Jefferson Coolidge reading, 'Heartiest congratulations.' I suppose this means that the President has sent my name to the Senate for the Cabinet position of Postmaster General.

"*December 5.* — Conger of the Associated Press informs me that he has a dispatch saying that the President sent to the Senate all the names of the members — the new members — of his Cabinet, including myself, and that of Moody for the Supreme Bench.

"*December 11.* — Meeting of the Yukki Club. I was reëlected President, and we increased the membership to 40.

"Receive a very nice letter from the President, in which he thanks me for interesting letter and says I know Russia so well now that when I enter the Cabinet (not later than March 4) he will no longer have to give it a thought. It is most satisfactory writing him; he is so appreciative. With the State Department you get a three-line acknowledgment, with not even contents noted."

Before leaving Russia Meyer, in his capacity of sportsman rather than diplomat, had experiences of elk-hunting and wolf-shooting, in company with Prince Youssoupoff, of which the diary made full record. The second, and more elaborate of these is described in a letter home.

To Mrs. Meyer

ST. PETERSBURG, *December 28, 1906.*

. . . We had a most interesting trip on our shooting expedition. We left Petersburg on the evening of the 19th, arriving in Moscow the next morning. Prince Youssoupoff and I went to his house, a wonderful palace built in the time of John the Terrible. The walls are about four feet thick and the rooms are all vaulted. It takes up an entire block, with a garden surrounding it. You enter the courtyard, which is bounded on three sides by the house and stable, and drive under an arch where the formal entrance is, by an outside stairway with stone steps. There we inspected the house and freshened up our toilets, previously to proceeding to the dog show, of which he is President. We attended the formal breakfast in the expo-

sition hall, and I saw a new class of Russians, made up of only sportsmen, who are always good fellows.

In the afternoon we visited the antiquary shops, dined at the Metropole, and left by the night train for the heart of Russia, the Grand Duchess Serge having left word, as she was then at Tsarkoë Selò, that on our return we were to lunch or dine with her in the Kremlin Palace.

The Government had furnished me with a private car and Prince Youssoupoff had his also. The entire party consisted of ten. Prince Youssoupoff, Trèpoff (the brother of the General who died this summer), and myself, lived together in Youssoupoff's car, where we also had our meals, he having his chef along with him; and the rest of the party were domiciled in my car, so-called.

We arrived beyond Briansk in the afternoon of the following day, and there we hunted for three days without any success, driving through the most magnificent forests, the trees laden with snow and the aspect at times really superb. We were so warmly clad that one never suffered from the cold. Sometimes we lunched in a peasant's house and sometimes in the open forest. We came across wolf tracks but never were able to surround them, and finally found that some of the Government foresters were doing what they could to hinder our success, on account of enmity to Youssoupoff's head chasseur.

On the fourth day we visited another section of the country and met with success, killing three wolves — the largest and finest specimen I had the good fortune to shoot; and I am having the same sent to Moscow to be stuffed and mounted.

The next day they shot two more, but I was laid up in the car and unable to leave. I thought for twenty-four hours that I was in for pneumonia. The cause, I think, was that, the night before, the Prince had given a ball to the peasants; the atmosphere in the so-called hall was something fearful, and I

think I inhaled a germ, because the next night I thought I should suffocate and burn up, and it seemed difficult to breathe. For the first time, I think, in my life, I really was frightened for a few hours. It is an awful feeling to be so far from home and so far from civilization when taken ill, as I was on that occasion. However, Youssoupoff was one of the nicest of men, and all those with him were most sympathetic. I fortunately had with me my little medicine case which you had given me and which contained phenacetine and quinine. . . . and arrived in Petersburg again with a normal temperature. Of course as we passed through Moscow yesterday, although my temperature was then back to almost normal, I knew it would be unsafe to go out, and remained in the car, and consequently was unable to attend a lunch at the Grand Duchess Serge's. . . . I forgot to say that, while on our shooting expedition, they gave me a very pleasant surprise, which quite touched me, in the way of a little Christmas tree decorated for Christmas Eve, after dinner. It was very well done and reminded me of home and all of you and what you were doing at that same time. . . .

Meyer's eagerness to return to America, once the conclusion of his Russian service was in sight, did not blind him to the good reasons for his prolonged term. On January 7, 1907, he wrote to Mrs. Meyer:—

I think it would interest you very much to read Theodore Roosevelt's "Gouverneur Morris,"—you will find it in my American Statesmen Series; the part which covers his visit to France, his sojourn in Paris as Minister, and his life in Paris afterwards, considering the time in which he lived, make it full of interest. Some of the events have repeated themselves in Russia, and I can understand how anxious the President was to have me here in case of trouble, when one recalls how, in his

book, Morris stayed at Paris through the Reign of Terror and Washburne in Paris during the Commune. The press had filled the minds of the public and the people in Washington with the idea that the same events were going to transpire here, and consequently his desire to have me on hand.

On the 16th he wrote again to his wife:—

I cannot realize that I am really getting away. Schoen, the German Ambassador, is to notify the German Emperor that I arrive in Berlin the first of February, in order to arrange an audience for me. Captain Hintze, the German Naval Attaché, and Aide-de-Camp of His Majesty, told me he was sure the Emperor would want to see me, as he always spoke so friendly of me.

Day before yesterday the Diplomatic Corps were received by the Emperor and the two Empresses, the whole Diplomatic Corps being taken down in a special Imperial train to Tsarskoë Selò, over the Emperor's private line. At the station a special court carriage was waiting for each Ambassador, and we drove in single state to the palace, the rest of the Diplomatic Corps being doubled up. We all ranged up in the oval salon in a circle, and at half-past three the doors were thrown open and the Emperor entered, with the Dowager Empress on his right and the Empress on his left. The Empress was *en grande beauté*, and I would not have known her as the same person as a year ago. The Emperor talked for a long time with the American Embassy and told me how much he admired the President's forcible, straightforward way of expressing himself in his messages.¹ With the Empress I had quite a long conversation,

¹ "While talking with the Emperor," Meyer wrote in his diary for January 14, "I said I hoped that the bright sunshine of this New Year's Day was a happy omen for the events of the New Year. 'You know,' he said, 'I believe a good deal in these signs, especially of nature.' This shows somewhat the simplicity of his character and disposition."



THE LIBRARY AT HAMILTON

joking and laughing. When one considers the different state of affairs existing here from a year ago, it is not surprising that she should appear like a different woman. Then revolution was rampant and the disruption of the Empire openly talked of. Conditions are not perfect yet, and the terrorists are singling out special individuals, but conditions as a whole have improved.

“Not perfect yet” seems mildly to describe Russian conditions as reported by Meyer in a letter to Senator Lodge a few days before those words were written: “For the last few weeks there have been assassinations by the terrorists every six days, and there is curiosity, as well as anxiety, among the Russians, to know who will be the next. Between February, 1900, and November, 1906, the terrorists have killed or injured by bombs, revolver, or assault, 1,937 officials and important persons, including one Grand Duke; 67 Governors General, Governors, and town prefects; 985 police officers and policemen; 500 army officers and soldiers; 214 civil functionaries; 117 manufacturers; and 53 clergymen.”

The full record of Meyer's last days in St. Petersburg would disclose an extraordinary round of farewells. It need not be followed in detail. A statement of his plans and engagements in a letter to Mrs. Meyer, written January 19, will suffice to indicate what occurred.

To Mrs. Meyer

January 19, 1907.

I shall try and sail on the 16th or 17th of February. The Department having sent my letters of recall so late gives

me very little time to turn round in. They should arrive next week, Wednesday or Thursday, 23rd or 24th. Nothing can be done about my final audience with the Emperor until they have actually come to hand, and I am to notify Iswolsky immediately on their arrival. The Ceremonies know the whole story, and they are to have their letters all ready to send out to the necessary officials at a moment's notice. I shall probably arrive in Berlin February first, and in that case shall go to Tower's fancy-dress ball that evening. There is a ball at the palace the night before, which I have no desire to attend, as I would much prefer to have my audience privately with the Emperor of Germany, if it can be so arranged.

Night before last was the Vapahofsky dinner-dance, which was a great success. The Bohemian band from Ernest's played divinely. Last night the Huënes gave me a farewell dinner. To-night the Princess Youssoupoff. Sunday night a party at the ballet. Monday night the members of the Austrian Embassy give me a dinner at Ernest's, and my Russian friends give me a dance and supper afterwards at the same place. Tuesday night Baroness Ramsay gives a dinner. Thursday night the German official reception. Also a lunch in my honour by the Japanese Legation. Friday night dinner at the Fürstenbergs. Saturday night at the British Embassy. Sunday Countess Bobrinskoy has a domino party. To-morrow we all hope to go out to Yukki for Sunday.

Though not literally fulfilled, these were the chief items in Meyer's private programme. There were, besides, his final audience with the Tsar and an interview with Iswolsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of which the journal makes record as follows:—

"January 26. — Leave the Hotel at 1.20, in order to take the train at 1.50 for Tsarskoë Selò. At the

station (Imperial) in Petersburg, Prince Dolgorouki, Baron Korff, Baron Ramsay and his assistant were waiting at the station to receive me. We entered a special Imperial train, and were taken over the Emperor's private line direct to Tsarskoë Selò. At the station, a gilded coach with four chestnut horses, an outrider, and two footmen on behind were waiting for me. We started without any delay, and I noticed that a mounted guard rode on each side of the coach; this was for style on this occasion and not for safety.

"At the Little Palace (the same one where I was first received by His Majesty, and also on a memorable occasion when I entered privately by his own entrance direct to his study in order to give him confidentially the President's invitation to send Plenipotentiaries to Washington for a peace conference with Japan) masters of ceremonies had assembled, and again, as on the first occasion, we marched in formal procession to the Emperor's apartment. In the ante-room Princess Galitzine and Count Benckendorff¹ received me, and after a short salutation the two black servants in Oriental costume threw open the doors, and for the last time I was in the presence of the Emperor and Empress.

"I bowed in the doorway and again after I had approached halfway. The Emperor put out his hand and then the Empress. In the latter case I kissed hers, according to the custom. The Emperor and Empress then sat down and the Emperor signified for me to sit on the Empress's right. Before we sat down,

¹ Marshal of the Imperial Court.

however, I had handed my letter of recall to His Majesty and informed him that the President had seen fit to recall me to Washington in order to enter his Cabinet. He asked me about my new post, and said that he was sorry to have me leave, but was glad to feel that there would be in the President's Cabinet not only a friend, but one who understood Russia and how difficult the problems were to solve. He thought that in the United States the Secretary of the Interior would one day be, as in Russia, one of the most important Cabinet positions. He seemed much interested in the future decision of our Courts as to the right of the State of California to make its own school regulation, and thought the decision would be far-reaching. He also spoke of the elections in Germany and of their importance. A decided victory by the Socialists would encourage the Socialists everywhere. I remarked what a part the German Socialist had taken in the first great strikes in this country more than a year ago.

"We talked for half an hour on various subjects, in which the Empress joined, and asked about the height of our buildings in New York. They seemed incomprehensible and unnatural to her. In taking leave the Emperor asked to be remembered to the President, and the Empress to my wife. They both expressed the hope of seeing us again and our return some day to Russia.

"*January 27.* — On my return from Tsarskoë Selò yesterday afternoon I found a letter from Iswolsky and a box. The latter was addressed to

‘G. von Lengerke Meyer, Esqr.,’ and said that the Emperor had conferred the Grand Cordon of St. Alexander Nevsky upon me. As I was now a simple citizen, I was able to accept it, and wore the decoration that Saturday evening, but not the Grand Cordon, to the dinner at the Embassy, as it would have been too gala to have put on the ribbon too. I found Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador to London, had done the same way. . . .

“Sunday, by appointment, I called on Iswolsky at the Foreign Office to express my appreciation of the honour conferred upon me. I found him most frank and interesting about the situation in Russia. Speaking of the Emperor and Empress, he said, ‘They are over-sanguine; I am continually trying to combat the influence of the Empress and the Grand Duchess Serge. They do not appreciate the actual conditions or understand them. They do not believe in further concessions, nor do they realize that this liberal movement for Constitutional Government is very far-reaching and must be recognized. I know and understand that we cannot go backwards.

“‘As you know, I am liberal, but they say in the Cabinet to me, “You have lived so much abroad that you have got permeated with foreign ideas and therefore cannot see and understand the Russian situation.” I feel that our troubles are far from being over; the new Duma may be an improvement over the first, but it will be radical, and it is doubtful whether the Government will be able to work in conjunction with it.

“ ‘ Now as to our negotiations with Japan, as you are no longer Ambassador I am going to be very frank with you and tell you what I would probably not say to you if you were still in your official capacity. But I should like you to consider it confidential and only to be repeated to the President. Throughout the entire negotiations the Japanese have been most exacting, and I find myself in a very embarrassing situation and almost helpless, as our army has practically evacuated Manchuria, which is not the case with Japan. We are ready to carry out our agreements at Portsmouth; nor have we any desire now for aggressions of countries in the East; but our aim is to have conditions *in statu quo*, so that the balance of power shall remain unaffected.

“ ‘ Our two principal contentions with Japan are the fishing rights, which they claim beyond what could naturally be expected, and the claiming of open navigation on the Sungari River, which was not raised at Portsmouth.’

“ He realized that Japan, claiming open navigation, was apparently taking a position that was popular, but that Russia could not grant she had the right to this on account of the Portsmouth Treaty. Now then Japan was demanding that Russia should concede the privilege to Japan of making special commercial treaties with Korea and countries beyond the Malay Straits, which should not apply to the most favoured nation clause of treaties with other nations, this not to become effective until treaties with other nations expired and this principle [should be] accepted by them.

“ ‘Now,’ he went on, ‘I have in my position got to make the best bargain that I can, and I am going to give in on this point and, although it is not effective until agreed to by the other nations, yet it is the small end of the wedge, and it shows the world that Japan proposes to reserve for herself a portion of the Eastern trade; and where, then, will be the Open Door of which so much has been said by Japan?’

“ ‘I have seen about the school question raised by Japan on the Pacific Coast, and the change of feeling there Rosen has reported to me fully. I would now like to have you report to the President not only the position in which Russia finds herself in these *pour-parlers* with Japan, but also the evident intention of Japan to reserve for herself in trade and commerce certain sections of the East, that is, the portion beyond the Malay Straits.’ ”

On Tuesday, the 29th, having made his official farewell to the Dowager Empress and Grand Duke Michel, and having dined with the Grand Duke and Duchess Vladimir on the 28th, Meyer took his departure from Russia. “Left at noon for Berlin,” he wrote in his diary; “the Diplomatic Corps and a host of my Russian friends who presented me at the station with a beautiful *coq de bruyère* carved from malachite, and on a paper the names of the donors (38).¹ I

¹ The list of the donors accompanied this gift. The names it contains are given here for their suggestion of Mr. Meyer's personal friendships in Russia: Prince and Princess S. Belosselsky, Prince and Princess Orloff, Prince and Princess Youssoupoff, Prince and Princess M. Cantacuzène, Comte and Comtesse Fersen, E. Orloff, S. Orloff, M. Schevitch, Princess Mestchersky, Prince P. Mestchersky, V. Annenkoff, M. Annenkoff, S. Hall, A. Hall, Princess V. Galitzine, Comte and Comtesse Mengden, Comte and

leave devoted and charming friends with feelings of strong attachment and with regret."

Before taking ship from England to America, on February 20, three weeks and a day later, Meyer had seen and talked with the German Emperor, the King of Italy, and the King of England. These interviews, following his audience with the Tsar on the Saturday before his leaving St. Petersburg, provided what may well be the unique experience of personal meetings with the four leading monarchs of Europe, each in his own capital, within the space of three weeks and three days. It was the part of the helpful ambassador to return to his country as well informed as he possibly could be, from the most authentic source of information, regarding European affairs. This is what Meyer accomplished in his last month in Europe. In Berlin, Rome, and London — especially in Rome — he renewed many personal friendships. The record of these experiences in his diary, however, must give place to his accounts of the interviews with Kaiser Wilhelm, King Victor Emanuel III, and King Edward VII. As in St. Petersburg his interview with the Tsar had been followed by a talk with Iswolsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, so in London, it should be noticed, he talked with Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, before his audience with the King.

"[Berlin] *February 3.* — Lunch with the Emperor and Empress at the Palace in Berlin at

Comtesse G. Bobrinskoy, Baron and Baronne Huëne, Comtesse S. Woroutzoff, A. Balacheff, Comte and Comtesse T. Nieroth, C. Warpak-hovsky, Prince S. Dolgorouky, Baron and Baronne Ramsay, O. Sérébriakoff, M. Sérébriakoff, D. de Benckendorff, A. Nicolaeff.



THE MALACHITE COQ DE BRUYÈRE PRESENTED TO
MR. MEYER BY RUSSIAN FRIENDS

1 o'clock. Arrive at ten minutes before 1. The guests were assembled in one of the ante-rooms; several of them I had met before, the Hatzfeldts, Eulenburg, Flotow, also the ladies-in-waiting. Prince Adalbert came in before 1, and while we were talking, as my back was to the door, he suddenly said, 'The Emperor.' I turned round and His Majesty was just entering the door. He shook hands with me as he passed and went on to greet the ladies. Then the Empress entered by another door. She went round the room, saying a few words with each person, and the gentlemen kissing her hand. When lunch was announced the ladies went in first, the Emperor, the Princes, and the rest of us following.

"I found my seat was next to the Princess Alexandra Victoria of Holstein, engaged to the fourth son [August William], Oscar, who was on the other side, being on the left of the Empress, Adalbert being on the right. On the right of the Emperor were Princess Hatzfeldt, and on the left Princess Oetingen. There were twenty-four people at lunch, including the sixth son¹ of the Emperor and the young daughter,² who must be about fourteen now, grown quite tall.

"Lunch being finished, the Empress led the way to one salon while the Emperor indicated that the men were to follow him to his smoking-room. I noticed that the young Princes went with the Empress. After we entered the smoking-room I stayed near the door as I did not want to be the first to talk with

¹ Prince Joachim.

² Princess Victoria-Louise.

His Majesty, but preferred to be the last. He looked round the room and immediately beckoned me to come forward, saying, 'You always used to smoke,' and then offered me a cigar. I then took the opportunity to congratulate him on the result of the elections. His eyes became very bright, and tapping me on the chest he said, 'We caught the Socialists this time. It became not only the question of a Colonial policy but a patriotic one, and they did not take this into account. This morning I received telegraphic information that the Socialists have lost four more on the second elections.'

"I then informed the Emperor that I had my farewell audience with the Emperor of Russia a week ago yesterday and I had spoken of the elections in Germany which were taking place, and that I hoped the Socialists would receive a set-back as their success would encourage the revolutionary element in Russia.

"The Emperor asked me my opinion of Iswolsky, saying, 'Can he be trusted?' I answered that I did not know him as well as I had known Lamsdorff, but that my relations had been very agreeable and satisfactory; that Schoen,¹ his Ambassador, was quite intimate with him and should be able to judge. I mentioned that I had been impressed by Russia's clever move in ordering the withdrawal of Russian troops ahead of the Japanese, but that I thought in that action I saw the influence of some one outside of Russia. The Emperor smiled and said, —

" 'The Tsar did ask my advice, and I thought it

¹ Baron Schoen, afterward German Ambassador to France (1910-14)

very important for Russia to keep China, her neighbour, good-natured and not allowed to become too friendly with Japan. As a matter of fact, Russia will lose Siberia, and the Tsar agrees with me. The Japanese are so much more active that they will overrun it with colonists and traders and commercially own it.

“ ‘ You are certain eventually to have a war with Japan; they will attack you through the Philippines by sea, and Europe by land through Siberia, etc. Russia was attacked by the Japanese just as she had completed the Siberian Railroad and you, the United States, will be attacked as you are about to complete the Canal. You should have fortified Hawaii, and must get your fleet on the Pacific side. The Japanese have spies everywhere, disguised as servants, etc., they know all about your fleet and fortifications. I have furnished through Speck ¹ statistics about the Japanese for your President. The school question in California is only an excuse. You see how they feel on your Pacific slope; it is a racial question.’

“ Then the Emperor suddenly changed the topic, saying, ‘ You know that the King and Queen of England have gone quite unexpectedly to Paris. Clemenceau’s Cabinet is not as strong as it was; the King bought him and owns him, and he had gone on to Paris to hold him up and strengthen him. Iswolsky was invited on to London during his trip this autumn, but the Emperor instructed him not to accept. England does not like to see Germany increasing good

¹ Baron Speck von Sternburg, German Ambassador in Washington.

feeling with France and the tendencies which are bringing Germany and Russia together. They should really have an alliance.

“‘England made an alliance with Japan which will prove to her final disadvantage; dissatisfaction is already showing commercially. If her treaty with Japan should compel her to fight with Japan for instance against you, you would lose almost at once the Philippines, but in revenge you would take Canada. The natural people to come together in such a conflict would be the Germans and Americans.

“‘It is not time to consider disarmament; if that is to be forced at The Hague, I will not send representatives. Stead, of the *Review of Reviews*, is trying to force it before the Conference and asked for an audience, but I have refused it. When I saw the King of England last summer, it was arranged beforehand what we were to discuss. Lascelles¹ and Hardinge were present. Unexpectedly the King talked of The Hague Conference and said, “We do not want it, there is no need of it, it interferes with our royal prerogatives.” You should have seen the expression on Hardinge’s face. Evidently the King and the Cabinet are out of accord on The Hague questions, as Grey wishes disarmament discussed.’

“The Emperor referred to the conscript system which began in Prussia when Germany was overrun by Napoleon and has existed and been perfected since that time. Other countries are now copying but have

¹ Sir Frank Cavendish Lascelles, British Ambassador to Germany, 1895-1908.

not made the same success of it. . . . He then asked what steamer I was going on. When I said Kaiserin Augusta Victoria, 'Oh! She is a wonderfully fine boat. I will send you a letter for the President if I can get it finished in time. Now we had better join the ladies.'

"The entire time had been taken up talking together; I am afraid that some of the other gentlemen were not very pleased, not getting a chance to say a word to him. We were only a moment with the ladies. As I left he said, 'Do not forget my regards to your wife and the young ladies, and if you are starting for Rome take food and a pistol in case the train is blocked by the snow and you are attacked.'"

"[Rome] *February 7.*—Had my audience with the King of Italy in Rome at 2.15 to-day. Arrived at the palace at 2.10, but I was not kept waiting a minute. The doors were instantly thrown open and the King came forward to the door and shook hands very cordially. He sat down on the sofa and beckoned me to sit down. I took the second chair, but he insisted on my sitting in the arm-chair next to him. He at once spoke of my going into the Cabinet and added, 'I understand that it [the Postmaster Generalship] has more political influence than any other Cabinet office.' I thanked him for his congratulations and assured him that I believed it should be run on business principles in order to give the best service. . . .

"He wanted to know if I had met his two sisters-

in-law¹ and added that they used to be very handsome. He was much interested in the Russian situation, but did not hesitate to express his opinion of the Emperor, which is not of the highest. He has not forgiven the Tsar for breaking his promise and not visiting him. Again he told me how he promised Nelidow² that when in public he would never leave the Tsar's side in order to protect him by his presence. Nelidow wanted the papers suppressed, as was done in Petersburg. This, the King said, could not be done, as his was a constitutional monarchy and anything of that sort must proceed in the regular way through the courts.

"When I told the King of my two-hour talk with the Emperor he said, 'I saw considerable of him when in Russia, and it was often his habit after a person had left him to snap his fingers and even make fun of what had transpired.' He also criticized his having been influenced by that spiritualist Phillipe.³ Fortunately he was dead, as his influence was very detrimental to the best interests of the country. 'He (the Tsar) shuts himself up from fear, and how can he form any real judgment when he comes in contact with no men of affairs or liberal spirit?'

"He agreed with me that affairs could not go backwards, and said, 'In '48 we had troubles and granted a constitution, but our people were more enlightened

¹ The sisters of Queen Helena, Melitza and Anastasie, princesses of Montenegro, the wives, respectively, of the Grand Duke Peter-Nikolaïévitch, and George, Duke of Leuchtenberg.

² Russian Ambassador to Italy, 1897-1903.

³ A French spiritualist, who preceded Rasputin in the favor of the imperial family.

and knew what they wanted.' I referred to the small amount spent by Russians for public education. The King replied, 'We spend in proportion a great deal more than Russia.'

"On the question of disarmament he thought Germany would make a mistake to oppose the consideration of it at The Hague, but would be wiser to get France or some other country to take that attitude, as the German Emperor was already suspected of being warlike and so disposed.

"The King then asked me if it was true that I was taking an autograph from the Kaiser to the President. I said that I had not received it as yet, but the Emperor, if he had the time to finish it, was going to send it to the German steamer, *Kaiserin Augusta Victoria*, for the Captain to hand me. I should take the boat at Cherbourg or Southampton the 17th.¹

"I then told the King that I had felt I could not go home without coming down to Italy to take leave of my friends, that I had a tremendous attachment for Rome and the Campagna, and for me Rome was the most beautiful city in the world. He smiled with a certain expression that is peculiar to him when he is pleased. The King was very amusing about the Parliament and the new constitutional government in Montenegro; said the Cabinet had fallen on an appropriation of \$62.50. At the end of half an hour, and after a most agreeable conversation, he excused himself as he had another appointment, and then

¹ Mr. Meyer sailed several days later, on another ship.

wished me every success in my new position at home in the Cabinet."

"[London] *February 15*. — Called at 11 A.M. at the Foreign Office, Downing Street, on Sir Charles Hardinge, now permanent Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, formerly my colleague at St. Petersburg. He was not down yet — his secretary said that he would be in a little before 12; not very early hours, — if I should attempt to keep such hours in Washington, it would not be appreciated. Return at 12 and am received almost instantly. Found Hardinge looking very well and most cordial. I told him what Stead had said in Berlin and in what an emphatic way he was quoting Sir Edward Grey. Whereupon Hardinge asked if I would like to meet Sir Edward and talk with him myself. He went upstairs and in two minutes returned, escorting me himself to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and introducing me.

"Grey did not look over 40, although I believe he is about 45, clean-shaven, clean-cut face with a very straightforward manner and an attractive personality. I told him that I had not wanted to quote his words to the President about disarmament, coming as they did at Berlin through Stead, without being sure (from him direct) that they were absolutely correct and not exaggerated, and knowing as I did that the Emperor of Germany was opposed to the subject being brought up at this time in the Hague Conference.

"Grey said that in the first place he did not like the expression 'disarmament,' but rather 'limitation

of expenditure for armament.' He did not expect anything practical to be accomplished in that respect at the Hague Conference more than publicity and education of public sentiment. In England the matter had received considerable attention, and it was therefore important that the movement should be taken into account and receive some sort of recognition. If the Hague Conference neglected even to consider the question, the impression would go out in the world, that the hands of the clock had been set back and no earnest endeavour had been made. Consequently he did not think any one nation should hold back the Conference from considering the question.

"Of course if Germany should refuse to send delegates, provided the question was to be considered, it would lose its principal object; for while they recognized Germany's right to build as large a navy as their commerce required, at the same time they were stronger considerably than the German navy, and they intended to continue to be so. That was a policy which either party recognized as necessary, for they had a small army and Germany a very big one, magnificently organized. If Germany also got a larger or even equally powerful navy, they [Great Britain] would be, in their isolated position, accessible by sea, at the mercy of Germany provided any adverse wave of sentiment or incident should bring on a war. Thus this continual striving of Germany to increase her navy, and England's necessity to continually keep her navy stronger, must have its effect on the other nations' expenditure. If Germany would agree to limit

her expenditures to what they had been, England would agree to keep hers to a limit, so that the proportion would not change and each would keep to the present ratio of force.

"I told Grey that in my hour's conversation with the German Emperor [he never?] showed any suspicion of England on account of urging disarmament, but was [alive?] to a genuine feeling of uneasiness of a future yellow peril by the ascendancy of the Japanese and a possible coalition with the Chinese. Consequently he did not think the present the time to discuss disarmament.

"On leaving he asked to give his compliments to the President and to be remembered to Mr. Root. On returning to Hardinge we chatted together about Russian affairs, and we both agreed that Russia by her game of bluff on Eastern matters could only blame herself for England finally making an alliance with Japan. Hardinge then called my attention to how much better England had kept herself informed in the past as to Japan; in fact in '93, when matters became strained, their naval experts said to fix it up, as they were in no position, so far from their base of supplies, to contend against the Japanese navy, and matters were therefore arranged. If Russia had been as well informed she would not have allowed the war to take place. Hardinge agreed that Japan will be a much more dangerous competitor commercially than even Russia would have been in the East, and that it was already beginning to be felt.

"*February 19.* — Go to Dorchester House at

11.30 in order to go to the Levee with Carter¹ and the Military Attaché; the Ambassador² being in his room with influenza. We drove at once in the Ambassador's carriage to St. James's Palace, where in the ante-room were assembled the Diplomatic Corps and the members of the Government attending the Levee. (St. James's Palace has not been used as a dwelling since the Georges.) I found a number of the Diplomatic Corps were old acquaintances, Sir Edward Grey was there, Lord Lansdowne, Sir Charles Hardinge, etc. — with each of them I had a short chat. Carter presented me to Monsieur Cambon,³ who as Doyen was to present me to the King in the absence of the American Ambassador. I spoke of how much his brother had been liked in Washington and congratulated him on his brother's advance to Berlin. M. Cambon, being the Doyen, led the procession and I followed, by his instructions, directly behind him. After he had made his bow and shaken hands with the King he presented me. After I had made my bow the King nodded a second time as I withdrew — the King, standing, shaking hands with each ambassador, without making any remarks, and they passed on, standing to the left of the throne in the corner of the room. After the last ambassador had passed, the King sat down and bowed to each minister without shaking hands, and they passed on to the end of the room. Then came the members of the government, army,

¹ J. R. Carter, First Secretary of the United States Embassy in London.

² Whitelaw Reid.

³ Paul Cambon, French Ambassador in London.

navy, and those who were attending the Levee, so that there was a constant stream of people always moving on till the last was presented. The name in each case was announced by the master of ceremonies. While all this was going on I had quite an extended talk with Poklewski, the Conseiller of the Russian Embassy, who wanted to know what was to be the attitude of our government on disarmament and if there had been any changes. I told him that I could not give him any official information, as it was three weeks since I left St. Petersburg, and since then I had not been in communication with my government.

"At 2.45 the Ambassador's carriage arrived to take us to Buckingham Palace. J. R. Carter, First Secretary of the Embassy, went with me. We were met by Lord K[nollys?]. In about two minutes word came down that the King would see us. Immediately after we had reached the King's sitting-room. His Majesty entered unaccompanied. I bowed as the King came forward and shook hands with me. Turning to the other gentlemen he said, 'I should like to have a talk with Mr. Meyer,' and they retired instantly. He then led the way to the other end of the room, invited me to sit, taking an easy chair himself.

" 'So you have just left St. Petersburg, and are going out of the Diplomatic Corps. I suppose you are sorry: it is a fascinating life.' This gave me an opportunity to say that while I had been Ambassador and in the diplomatic [service] we had all looked up to him, if I might say so, as the ideal diplomat and

the greatest of ambassadors. He seemed quite pleased with the compliment and smiled with a certain pleasure and probably with satisfaction as he thought of the Entente Cordiale (for which he had done so much) between England and France.

“He asked me about the Emperor, how he looked, and if it was true that the Empress and her sister, the Grand Duchess Serge, had a bad influence over the Emperor as far as reforms, etc., were concerned; also inquired if the two Montenegrins were intimate with the Empress, adding, ‘I hear they are always scheming.’ His Majesty knew of the divorce of the Duchess of Leuchtenburg, but wanted to know if they would really be married (she and Grand Duke Nicolas.)¹

“Finally, after we had discussed conditions for some time, he said suddenly, ‘What opinion did you form as to the outcome, and what would happen?’ I replied that I had informed my government for some months that I believed the Duma would be radical, that I did not think that it would work in unison with the Cabinet, that probably the Duma would profit by the experience of the first Duma, because they realized that the Government dared to dissolve the Duma, and the troops as a whole were loyal; that the country was one of great resources, but capital was timid and enterprise restricted. I had confidence in the final outcome: it could not go backwards, but it would take a long time.

“His Majesty then spoke of the Hague Confer-

¹ They were married about two months later.

ence, and said he had no confidence in its accomplishing anything, evidently having no high opinion of it, which coincides with what the Emperor of Germany had told me.

"I told him how well Nicolson¹ was doing in St. Petersburg, and also called His Majesty's attention to how Durand² had developed after he had announced his retirement and what good speeches he had made. 'Yes,' said the King, 'It was quite remarkable. I hope Bryce³ will do well. I believe you all like him. It seemed best to make a change. I have never met your President, but I have a great admiration for him, for his friendly and cordial feeling for Great Britain, which she heartily reciprocates for America. I know that Germany is making up to your country and is more than anxious to make and create the closest ties'; whereupon he laughed. I, recognizing what was implied, answered that while America desired to be on friendly terms with all nations, it was contrary to our policy to form any alliances.

"'Yes,' he added, 'good understanding and bonds of friendship are much wiser.'

"After asking me to extend his cordial greeting to the President and saying he was glad to have had the opportunity to renew our acquaintance, His Majesty rose and said good-bye, wishing me a *bon voyage*."

¹ Sir Arthur Nicolson (now Baron Carnock), British Ambassador to Russia, 1905-10.

² Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, British Ambassador to the United States, 1903-6.

³ British Ambassador to the United States, 1907-13.

Meyer took the Teutonic the next day at Liverpool, and arrived in New York, March 1, with an equipment of European experience of rare value to one whose work for the next six years was to be that of a Cabinet Officer in the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Taft.

V

POSTMASTER GENERAL

(1907-1909)

IT was on Friday, March 1, that Meyer landed in New York on his return from Russia. He immediately communicated by telephone with the White House in Washington, and learned, as his diary puts it, that "the President wishes me to come on to Washington this evening and report to him and get acquainted with my new duties, which I shall have to take up on Monday." This energetic programme, befitting a member of the Roosevelt Cabinet, he put into effect.

The new duties awaiting him were in marked contrast with those of an ambassador. The mastery of detail inseparable from an administrative task of the first magnitude was essential to its successful performance. Hardly less important was the exercise of a political sagacity for which "wisdom" may be the better term, since it concerned relations, not only with an army of office-holders, subject to a great variety of political influences, but also with the entire public in its most nearly universal point of direct contact with the Government. It is only necessary to observe how every failure of postal administration is seized upon for

complaint, to realize the importance of its satisfactory conduct.

For both of these elements in his new work Meyer's experience had well prepared him. His earlier business training, of general rather than specific value to him in his ambassadorial posts, was now to be brought into vital play. His years abroad had trained his capacity to see things in the large, to appreciate, for a single example, the far-reaching public advantage of such an institution as the postal savings-bank, to the establishment of which his energies were so largely devoted. The detailed record of his actual work in this and other directions of improvement in the postal service — through speeches, writings, and appearances before Congressional committees — is of limited general interest. Some of the results of his labours, and the methods employed for their achievement, will be related in due course. His own record of the years now under review, especially his diary, afford many passages in which the operations of the Roosevelt Cabinet — and "tennis cabinet" — are significantly revealed. Beside their suggestions of the personality of the chief whose character and example meant more to Meyer than any similar influences in his life, they show a delightful relation of friendship and confidence between the two men, to be counted to the credit of both.

On Meyer's first day in Washington, March 2, his diary contains the first of many entries of the same character: "Call on the President at 10.30 and have a long and interesting conference with him; go over

the situation at Petersburg, Berlin, and London, reporting the conversations that I have had with Iswolsky, the German Emperor, Sir Edward Grey, and the King of England. Desired me to come and dine in the evening and repeat the same to Root. . . . The President and I dine in the White House at 8 alone. . . . Root comes in after dinner and we talk over disarmament, or rather, as Grey prefers the expression, the limitation of armament expenditure."

On the third day, March 4, Meyer formally took over the Post Office Department from his predecessor, Mr. George B. Cortelyou, who then became Secretary of the Treasury. On the 5th he attended his first Cabinet meeting, and commented upon it: "There was great humour shown at times in the meeting, which made it most interesting and relieved the stiffness of what would naturally be a most formal occasion." On the 6th he noted his first entire day at his new work, and added: "At noon message comes from the White House that the President wants me to walk with him at 4.30 and to put on old shoes. I know what that means!" The walk of more than two years before was not forgotten — nor was all the vigorous exercise to come foreseen. On this day also he noted the fact of moving into 1709, New Hampshire Avenue, the house he was first to occupy in Washington, where his wife and family joined him on the next day, March 7. Later they lived at Connecticut Avenue and S Street, and during Meyer's secretaryship of the Navy, on Scott Circle.

Mr. Taft, his colleague as Secretary of War in the Cabinet he joined, and his chief when he himself became Secretary of the Navy, has said in conversation, that a striking characteristic of Meyer in the administrative posts in which he had occasion to observe him was his thorough learning of the job he had to do before he undertook to do it. His first months in Washington were devoted in large measure to this process of getting at the essentials of his task. His lopping off of the unessentials is indicated by the two following passages from his diary:—

“April 16.—I informed the President jokingly that it was a constant embarrassment to me to be called ‘General Meyer’ merely because I was Postmaster General. Why was not ‘Secretary of the Posts’ much better? ‘By George!’ he cried, ‘I believe I will recommend that the Attorney General be known as Secretary of Justice and you Secretary of the Posts.’ I wish he would.

“April 17.—Called my Assistant Secretaries together to-day. Shall probably establish the custom of having joint meetings (like a council meeting) once a month. Have also arranged that they can see me individually between 12 and 1 every day. Gave out an order that I was not to be addressed as ‘General’: no more right to the title than a cabman or any other individual not in the army.”

The next day he wrote: “The papers have taken up and approved my order stopping the use of the title of ‘General’ for the Postmaster General or his assistants.” Meanwhile the noting of a newly awarded

contract for the making of stamped envelopes, at a large saving to the Government, gave evidence of early results from the labours to which he was applying himself with a diligence indicated by the entries: "The work I find very confining and exacting. Stay down at my office until about 6.30 every day"; and "Get away for the first time before 6 P.M." With the coming of warm weather he wrote: "Begin riding every morning at 8 A.M."; and tennis at the White House and afternoon rides with the President and his intimates in Rock Creek Park began to figure in the daily routine.

Immediately on his arrival in Washington he had noted his thanking the Japanese Ambassador for the honour the Mikado had paid him, in recognition of his work in Russia, by conferring upon him the Order of the Rising Sun; and about two weeks later had recorded his receiving from the Italian Ambassador the insignia of the rank of "Cavaliere di Gran Croce decorato del Gran Cordone dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro," bestowed by the King of Italy *motu proprio* — the highest honour he could confer upon a foreign citizen. Now, the duties of a citizen with large responsibilities in his own country confronted him, and into these and their attendant pleasures, he plunged with characteristic zest. The abundant record of it all, in diary, private and official correspondence, and public statements, leaves one with the clear impression that a cabinet officer may occupy himself quite as fully as an ambassador with social pursuits, and at the same time must perform a vastly greater amount of hard work.

None but the most vigorous could compass it, and the constant regard to physical fitness which Meyer and other colleagues of the President shared with him stands self-explained. A few extracts from the diary will speak for the active months before the heats of midsummer dispersed the official society of Washington.

“May 11. — Ride with the President, Root, and Lodge; go way out on the Potomac. The French Ambassador and Madame Jusserand were out in the park near the hurdles. The President put his horse over the 3-foot stone wall and the 4-foot hurdle. Then he turned to me and said that we would jump them together, which we did. Lodge said my horse jumped in much better form. He was carrying, however, about 30 pounds less. After that, without realizing what effect it would have on the President, I put my horse over the 5-foot jump. I had no sooner done it than the President went at it. His horse refused, so he turned his horse, set his teeth, and went at it again. This time his horse cleared it well forward, but dragged his hind legs. Lodge was very much put out that the President had taken such a risk with his weight. I appreciated that it was my fault, for the President said, ‘I could not let one of my Cabinet give me a lead and not follow.’

“May 12. — Ride in the afternoon with the President, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Cabot Lodge. We took a long ride of nearly two hours and a half. I rode most of the time with the President. He spoke of our work since graduating at Harvard, and said, ‘We both will

be able to retire at fifty, having really done and accomplished something, and can look back with satisfaction. I have the greatest contempt for certain men'—mentioning names—'who have done nothing in their lives and never will.' He showed me to-day that he had never wavered in his intentions to retire at the end of this term as President. I got him to promise that in his farewell address to Congress he would not say anything which would so commit him that later in life, if the people called him, he could not consistently accept a nomination after one or two terms had intervened. I have a conviction that the country will want him again."

Meetings with the Duke of the Abruzzi, then visiting America, gave occasion for many entries in the diary through May and June. As a former Ambassador to Italy it was but natural that Meyer should extend to him the hospitality of his houses both in Washington and in Hamilton. It is enough in this place to accompany them only on visits to Mount Vernon and to the Jamestown Exhibition on "Georgia Day," when Meyer, leaving Washington on the Dolphin as the guest of Mr. Metcalf, Secretary of the Navy, joined the President's party on the Mayflower and witnessed an impressive ceremony.

"*May 21.*—Go to Mount Vernon on the Mayflower—arranged by Secretary of the Navy for the Duke of the Abruzzi. I arrived at the Navy Yard at the appointed time, 12.30. The soldiers were drawn up by the Commandant, and as I alighted from the car-

riage they presented arms, and on reaching gangway the bugle-call was sounded. In addition to the Duke there were the Italian Ambassador and his staff, the Andersons, Wilsons, Cowles, Miss Elkins, Alice, Mrs. Metcalf, Julia, my daughter Alice not being expected.

"The sail down was delightful, part of the time being occupied with lunch. When we reached the tomb of Washington, the Prince placed at the head a large wreath of orchids. I was much impressed with the simplicity of Washington's tomb and the fine trees that surround it. At the Mansion House we were received by the Regents. The Duke gave his arm to the presiding lady, and on the lawn a ceremony was performed of H.R.H. planting a tree. Next we were taken over the house and then to the garden with its beautiful box hedge, its fragrance actually perfuming the air.

"The day was completed by a lovely sail up the river to Washington on board the Mayflower to the Navy Yard. When it was built it was supposed all vessels would be able to come up, as the channel is twenty feet deep. But no big cruiser or battleship will ever see it now.

"*June 11.* — Yesterday, 10th, quite a strenuous day. Called at 6 A.M. in order to be transferred to the S.S. Yankton, which was to take us down the bay eight miles below Point Comfort in order to board the Mayflower with the President and his party. This was accomplished at 8 A.M. Besides the President and Mrs. Roosevelt the Mayflower carried the Cowleses, Douglas Robinsons, the Lafarges. Our party con-

sisted of the Metcalfs, French Ambassador and his wife, the Dutch Minister and Madame van S[winderen], and the George Vanderbilts.

“As the Mayflower was sighted by the fleet, a salute was given of 21 guns. As we approached the fleet, it was a sight which made a great impression and was really grand, the magnificent line of sixteen battleships which appeared to be anchored from a rope drawn from one end to the other, so carefully had the anchors been dropped. These huge machines of war, looking immaculately white with the sailors in white duck strung out from bow to stern, gave only a slight idea of [their] might and power. It was the French ships that saluted first (21 guns), the President acknowledging the same from the bridge, at the same time the ‘Star-Spangled Banner’ being played, and so on, as we went down the lines, each vessel (nearly 40) firing 21 guns. We had all taken the precaution to put cotton in our ears. When we passed the Brazilian ships, they did not wait and fired directly at the President’s boat (the Mayflower). They say that the Captain of the Brazilian man-of-war while here intended to pump water into his engines, but made a mistake and pumped it into the ship!

“As soon as the Mayflower came to anchor, the admirals of our ships, according to their ranks, and those of the foreign fleets, came on board in full uniform and paid their respects to the President, returning to their ships in a few minutes. After that we in turn departed and all proceeded to the Jamestown Exposition, which is now called by every one ‘the Imposi-

tion.' Still nothing finished, and does not look as though it would be before the Exposition is over. We were conveyed in carriages to the grand stand. On the President's arrival, the Governor opened the ceremonies and introduced the President, who made a most excellent address of about an hour. Then came the review of the cadets, midshipmen, sailors from the foreign fleets, and about 3000 from our own ships; at the end the state troops or militia.

"This had taken until 2 o'clock. The next move was to the Georgia building, where we were told we were to lunch with the President as the guest of the State of Georgia. The confusion was beyond words, no one in control, and what was worse, no signs of lunch. Finally a room was opened large enough to hold about 20 people and seats for 12! The President told the ladies to sit down, and seeing that there were only about six loaves and two fishes and no baskets, I took the Duke of the Abruzzi and his aides, with the Italian Ambassador, to the Swiss restaurant, where, after some difficulty, I managed, with the help of a naval officer, to obtain a table and from a waiter some ham sandwiches and excellent beer. I told Abruzzi that there was just as much difference in the way things were done in the North and South of my country as in the North and South of Italy. He smiled and said he quite understood.

"Late in the afternoon it began to rain and blow, and I got to the S.S. Varese [of the Italian Navy] from the Dolphin with some difficulty. The Duke's guests at dinner were the Elkinses, General Grant and

his wife, and Mrs. Kernochan and the Italian Ambassador. During dinner the band played selections from 'Tosca' and other Italian operas. The Duke makes a most charming host.

"The illuminations on all the battleships were superb, but one could not sit on deck and enjoy it on account of the rain."

Later in the month a significant meeting with the President at Oyster Bay is recorded.

"*June 27.* — Arrive in New York at 7 A.M. Breakfast at the Knickerbocker Club, take the 10.50 train for Oyster Bay. On the train was the Chinese Minister, the Norwegian Minister and his naval captain, a sculptor, and an author. At the house we found Secretary Metcalf, Captain Wainwright of the Naval Board, and Captain Witherspoon of the General Staff of the Army.

"After lunch, when the other guests had left, with the exception of the Chinese Minister, who was led away to a parlour by Mrs. Roosevelt, the President took the Secretary of the Navy, Captain Wainwright, Captain Witherspoon, and myself to his study. Handing me a report he said, 'Read that to begin with.' It was a report of the General Staff as to our fortifications, etc., and naval bases, in case of war with Japan. The first matter discussed was the transferring of our battle fleet of 16-18 ships to the Pacific, which was decided as advisable. It was also agreed that our armoured cruisers in the East should be joined to the battleship fleet in the Pacific; Subig Bay should be

fortified, and not Manila. Finally the President announced that 'if war does come after I am out of the presidency, I have decided just what sort of a regiment I shall raise of rifle men from the Rockies.' He meant it. Details were gone into and instruction given as to acquiring supplies for the Army and Navy, the President saying, 'I propose that the country shall not be caught unprepared if a war should come on.'

"I returned with Secretary Metcalf on the Yankton. Raising anchor at 4.30, we reached the N.Y.Y.C. pier in the East River at 7.30. Found Bey waiting for me at the Knickerbocker Club, where we all dined together. He left for Boston on the midnight and I for Washington."

Returning again to Washington a few weeks later, Meyer was met at the station by his private secretary, Dr. John A. Holmes, who showed his own pleasure in handing him a letter just received from the President, containing the following paragraph, which must indeed have encouraged the new Cabinet Officer:—

And now, my dear George, I trust it is not necessary for me to say what a keen satisfaction and comfort I have taken out of your being Postmaster General. You are one of the Cabinet Ministers upon whom I lean. You always spare me trouble, you never make a mistake, and you are a constant source of strength to the administration.

Ever yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Before Meyer met the President again he had taken a vacation in Canada, at the salmon-fishing club on

the Restigouche, where he often sought and found his most refreshing holidays. Even there he seems not to have forgotten what he had recently said to an interviewer, — “Only the poor can limit their labours to eight hours a day,” — for on his return he had so far formulated his plans for the Post Office Department, to be embodied in his first Annual Report, that he could announce them to the public. On the eve of so doing he paid a visit to Oyster Bay, thus reported in his diary: —

“*August 12.* — Leave for New York on the one o'clock train. Hon. Wm. H. Taft gets on at Providence and joins me.

“Dine on the terrace at Sherry's together at 7.30. [Taft] explains the details of his speech which he is to make *en route* to the Pacific, previous to sailing for Manila.

“To-morrow we are to go down to Oyster Bay to see the President. Taft arranges to call for me at the club at 10.30 A.M., the train leaving at 10.45.

“*Tuesday, 13th.* — We reach Oyster Bay at noon, and we are immediately surrounded by newspaper reporters and innumerable questions slung at us, which we avoid answering directly. Fortunately we are hurried away in an automobile; but cameras snap us at almost every corner.

“The President greets us with great cordiality, and without any delay we sit down before lunch and talk politics.

“The financial situation is considered, as well as the political, as regards the future. The President



A DAY'S CATCH AT THE RESTIGOUCHIE

stated that Lodge had covered the case when he said that Roosevelt's friends could not make him accept another nomination, but his enemies might!

"The President went on to say that he thought things were shaping themselves so that Taft would be nominated by the Republicans. As regards New York State, he thought the serious question was the candidacy of Hughes. If Hughes were nominated he would not carry out the so-called Roosevelt policy because it was known as Roosevelt. As to Cortelyou, he did not consider it as a serious movement. Of course, he was in a delicate situation. If he said to Cortelyou he ought not to be a candidate, then Cortelyou would have the feeling that he had been prevented by the President from possibly becoming President of the United States. This was best to avoid, especially as he did not consider it imminent.

"Root arrived at 7 o'clock, and as there were several matters to be gone over, the President asked Taft and myself to stop to dinner and return to New York by automobile. The Japanese situation was thoroughly canvassed. Japan, it is believed, has made some arrangement with Colombia as a base, in case of war with us. Root thinks we must from now on show a courteous but firm attitude to Japan, or else she will misunderstand and think that we are afraid of her. He does not like the spirit that she is showing towards us in connection with the seal fishermen that were shot poaching.

"The President congratulated himself on the fact that he had ordered the battle-fleet to proceed this

autumn (probably in November) to San Francisco, as it has stopped the war talk. It will sail *via* the Straits of Magellan, and when it returns, which will probably not be for a year, it will come by Suez and the Mediterranean, thus giving a world-wide demonstration of our naval strength.

“The President reported that Sternburg had been to see him and announced that the Emperor authorized him to say that in case of trouble with Japan, they (Germany) would furnish us with a base of supplies.

“It was decided that Taft should return over the Siberian R.R., stop over a day at St. Petersburg and a couple of days at Berlin, see the Emperor, and sail from Bremen or Hamburg for New York.

“Taft and I left in the auto from the President’s house, Oyster Bay, at 9.30 P.M., and arrived in Jersey City at 11 P.M., when we were met by a number of reporters. I informed them that the Postmaster of New York would be announced the next day — Mr. Morgan, the present Assistant Postmaster of New York.”

On the next day Mr. Meyer, visiting the New York Post Office, gave out a programme of improvement in postal matters which represented the serious study he had been devoting for more than five months to the problems of his office. It was the very programme elaborated in his first Report, published in the following December. Its chief points were an extension of the usefulness of the parcel posts, especially on rural-delivery routes, the establishment of a postal-savings-

bank system, the reduction of foreign letter-postage from five cents to two. Besides these conspicuous reforms, there were other proposals of obvious advantage to the public in its dealings with the mails. It could not be expected that all of the changes advocated would instantly come to pass. "Penny postage" between England and the United States had long been an object of international desire. Its accomplishment, through the cordial coöperation of the British authorities, in a little more than a year from the time of Meyer's announcement of his intention to work for it, was a signal achievement of his administration. In his plans for the extension of the parcel post he had to encounter the serious opposition of express companies and country merchants, who thought they foresaw the destruction of their business through the encouragement of the mail-order houses in large cities. Much misapprehension of facts through a large portion of the public had to be removed by means of a campaign of education, to which Meyer applied himself, through all the means at his command, with great assiduity and effectiveness. Since 1907 national legislation has greatly reduced the cost, and increased the limit of permissible weight, for the transmission of merchandise through the mails. Meyer must be credited with the foresight and energy which imparted to this great improvement in general business and public convenience much of the impetus which has brought about the existing results. His correspondence, speeches, and published writings on this subject alone constitute a notable monument of telling work.

But of all the improvements in the postal service with which he was identified, the establishment of the national system of postal savings-banks stands most clearly to his credit. Since 1871 successive Postmaster Generals had urged the adoption of this plan in various forms, without avail. Meyer's own observation of the workings of the system in the countries of Europe in which it had long been established had shown him its value. On taking charge of our own postal service, he caused the successful operation of the system in Canada to be made the subject of expert investigation. He brought together figures showing the amount of savings which immigrants from various European countries were sending home annually to the postal savings institutions of their native lands. He saw the value of encouraging thrift in this element of the population, and of taking advantage of its natural trust in the agencies of our government. As a man of business, he realized also the advantage of capitalizing for the public treasury the large sums of money otherwise hoarded or sent out of the country. The merits of his plan were obvious, but the powerful interest of the private savings banks, fearing curtailment of their own appeal to the savers of small sums, opposed it for a time with vigour. Here again there was a crying need for education. Meyer made himself the man who could best meet it. He mastered the subject thoroughly, presented it with tact and force to Congressional committees and public meetings of many kinds, took every occasion to present it to the readers of the country, engaged the President and his colleagues of

the Cabinet in its support, overcame the opposition of Speaker Cannon and others to its endorsement in the Republican party platform, and had the satisfaction of seeing his foundations for this piece of work so securely laid that, not long after the end of his term as Postmaster General, the Postal-Savings System was established by authority of an Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910.

During the months while Meyer was formulating the policies of his postal administration, he was also establishing his own methods of daily work in the Department. It has been seen that he did not spare himself in making it hard work. For his dealings with his subordinates there is direct testimony to the effect that in controlling an organization shot through with the complexities of personal political ambitions he displayed a fairness, firmness, and consideration which won him the hearty support of the army of postal employees of which he was commander-in-chief. There was a notable absence of complaints from the carriers' and other associations, and from the public. The work of the office went forward without congestion. There were frequent consultations with responsible chiefs whom he trusted, and did not nag.

A significant episode in personal relationships occurred one summer in his entertainment of his private secretary at his fishing club in Canada. The secretary was introduced to his friends there as merely another friend, who said to his chief, before the holiday was over, "Why, Mr. Meyer, people would think you were my secretary from the way you have treated

me." It is easy to understand that the atmosphere in which such relations could exist was conducive to the best results in the accomplishment of work. These results, according to a characteristic personal habit of Mr. Meyer's, were most surely achieved when he did his own work on his feet, instead of sitting at a desk. Before the end of his first year in Washington the furnishings of the Massachusetts State House, then undergoing alterations, were sold at auction. Mr. Meyer bought the high carved desk which he and many a predecessor had used as "Speaker of the House," had it moved to Washington, and habitually used it, first in the Post Office, then in the Navy Department, as the "stand-up" table at which most of his daily work was done — a symbol both of association and of vigour.

The multiform processes by which the work on behalf of Postal Savings and all the other tangible performances of the Postmaster Generalship were brought to pass do not lend themselves readily to biographical record. They must rather be assumed as a substantial background of arduous labour than presented in detail. For the immediate purpose it is better to turn to Meyer's diary and a few of his letters. These will reflect many episodes of his daily life, and its close relations to national affairs and the conspicuous personal figures engaged in their conduct.

"*September 22.* — Got my morning ride at 8 o'clock, before the rain which commenced at 9.30. Lunch at Chevy Chase and call on Mr. Root at 5 P.M. We discuss our relations with Japan. He said he felt

that the President at one time this summer really considered a Japanese attack imminent or liable. He had not anticipated one, for the following reasons: their financial condition and their desire not to be considered barbaric in the eyes of Western civilization if they should commence war without a proper pretext or one that would justify them in the eyes of Europe and England. If, later, that should be found before the Canal was completed, their first act after taking Hawaii, which would not be difficult, would be to seize the Canal and then offer to build, or complete it rather, as an international canal, which would find approval with Europe and demolish the Monroe Doctrine. Japan's advances to Colombia and the appointment of a minister point to the idea of a possible base of supplies in case of need."

To President Roosevelt

September 23, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, and to take this opportunity to ask your consideration of the suggestion that the designation of the Postmaster General be changed to that of Secretary of Posts. The Postmaster General's present title results in his being designated chiefly as "General," a misnomer if ever there was one. The Post-Office Department is, I believe, at present the largest one in the Government, the expenditures exceeding two hundred million dollars; it is made up of post offices, the railway-mail service, star-route service, steamboat service, rural delivery, the money-order and registry systems, the domestic and foreign parcels post (the former being limited to 4 pounds and the latter to 11

pounds in the case of most foreign countries); the inspection service, etc., etc. The head of the Department is no longer in any sense a postmaster. He has the administration of this enormous Department, and is secretary of a Department just as much as the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, of the Interior, of Agriculture, of Commerce and Labour, and the same is equally true of the title of the Attorney General.

If it should be your pleasure to recommend to Congress that the Attorney General be known as the "Secretary of Justice," and that the Postmaster General be known as the "Secretary of Posts," the head of every Department in your Cabinet would then have a uniform title, that of "Secretary," which would seem most fitting for the head of each Department.

Commending this suggestion to your kind consideration, and looking forward to seeing you again on the 25th, believe me, always,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER,

Postmaster General.¹

[*Diary*]

"*September 26.* — President telephoned for me to come to the White House this A.M. There were so many people waiting to have a word with him, that he suggested my coming round at 10 P.M. so that we would not be interrupted, as he had a number of things that he wanted to go over with me.

¹ Though the President was sympathetic with this suggestion, the change of titles was not made. It should be noted, however, that in his next Message to Congress, December 3, 1907, he recommended the adoption of the plan proposed by Meyer (see *ante*, p. 265), that in national political campaigns Congress should appropriate funds for the legitimate campaign expenses of each of the great national parties.

“ I arrived at the White House at 10 P.M., found the Assistant Secretary of State (Bacon) upstairs with the President. The situation at Panama, in the East, and the attitude of Japan were gone over. At 11 P.M. Bacon left, and after I had reported matters in connection with the Department, the President suddenly said, ‘ I want to talk politics with you. How do you size up the present situation?’ I told him that at present Hughes was growing in New York and the East, but not in the West. Cortelyou was out of it. In the West people were Roosevelt, if anything more than ever, but there was also a growing sentiment among a certain class of voters that were for him, who were saying, ‘ Well, if Roosevelt won’t run, then we shall vote for Bryan, because next to Roosevelt he has the interest of the people most at heart and will fight these monopolies and corrupt corporations!’ The President said, ‘ You are quite right. I think that is the situation at the present time. Lodge in his last letter was not so emphatic about not running under any circumstances.’ I think I saw signs that the President begins to realize that under certain conditions he may be forced to run against his own wishes, in order to ensure the present policies being continued and to avoid a Democratic victory.

“ *October 25.* — First Cabinet Meeting since last June, Taft, and Straus absent. President tells a story why Root, according to a certain general, is the greatest Secretary: ‘ The trouble with Taft was that he had once been a Judge, and if he came up against the law in a policy which he wanted to pursue, he had

such a respect for the law that he gave in, while Secretary Root was such a great lawyer that he always could find a way to get around it.'

"The reporter of the *Record-Herald* of Chicago asked me if I was going to Berlin as Ambassador. I replied, 'No, I have only just come home.' He then informed me that he had heard it at the German Embassy, and evidently it would be very agreeable to the Emperor, and as much had been intimated. Later, it seems, this same correspondent asked the President if it was true and the President had answered that he needed me in the Cabinet.

"President sends for Bob Bacon and myself to consult us about a letter he has been requested to write to New York to restore confidence. I get him to put in the expression, 'the underlying conditions of the country are sound and honest.'¹

"*November 1.* — Important Cabinet meeting. Discuss the present crisis and financial condition. The President had been urged by some to call Congress together. Asked our advice, which was unanimous against such action.

"The question of Taft's trip home was brought up, as to the advisability of his returning by the way of St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, etc. The President cabled, saying that he must decide for himself, but if he stayed on it would be wiser to return by San Francisco.

"Cortelyou has come into prominence again for

¹ The Knickerbocker Trust Co. in New York had suspended payments a few days before, and the financial panic of 1907 had begun.

President by the financial troubles in New York and the important part that the Treasury has played in advancing money to the banks.

“November 14. — President sent for me at 9.30 A.M., gave me his message to Congress which he wants me to read and have back at 9 P.M. the same day. Return it in person at the White House at the appointed hour. The President recommends Postal Savings Banks and extension of Parcel Post, especially on rural routes and to benefit the farmer. His measure is conservation; quotes from his former ones and shows conclusively that he is not hostile to well-managed corporations or successful and honest men. It is an able straightforward document.

“November 15. — Cabinet meeting. Mr. Barney, President of the Knickerbocker Trust, shoots himself.

“After the Cabinet meeting the President invited Root, Cortelyou, and myself to stay. The financial situation was reviewed and means considered to alleviate the situation and restore confidence. Adjourned at 1.30 to meet again at 6 P.M.

“At 6 o'clock the President read the draft of a letter addressed to Cortelyou as Secretary of the Treasury, approving the \$50,000,000 Panama bonds and \$100,000,000 notes for one year bearing interest. These can be issued under the act of 1898 (at the time of the Spanish war).

“The wording of the letter was discussed, and the question whether both should be announced at once. I favoured this strongly, in order to get the moral effect

and if possible restore confidence and reassure timid people.

“Met at the White House to discuss and review the President’s message. Root and myself present, later Cortelyou.

“*November 16.* — President called a meeting at the White House at 6 P.M. of the same sub-committee of the Cabinet, Root, Cortelyou, and myself, to decide finally on the bond and note issue and the exact text of the President’s letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, to be made public Sunday morning.

“Decide to issue both the bonds and the notes, and the exact phraseology of the President’s letter intended to restore confidence, and call attention to the strong gold reserve, etc., of the Treasury and underlying conditions of business, which were sound.

“*November 24.* — Take a three-hours’ walk in the afternoon with the President and Robert Bacon. We climb cliffs and do all sorts of stunts, going along the banks of Rock Creek. If he had slipped, any one or all of us might have broken our legs or neck. I honestly think it is taking a foolish chance, as we are all within a year of 50.

“*November 25.* — The papers announce that Speaker Cannon will oppose Postal Savings Banks and extension of parcel post, notwithstanding the popular demand.

“Had an hour’s conference with the Speaker in his private room over the matter, but made practically no headway. He is seventy years old and does not believe in new ideas, besides being very egotistical and

narrow, and with no experience outside of the House.

"*November 29.* — Cabinet Meeting. Good deal of discussion about the Japanese. Russian officers are offering their services, in case of war with Japan, in Philippine Islands. The President does not think that we will have war; if they should have such a purpose, they will have to attack before the fleet reaches San Francisco. We know that the Japs are buying ammunition in large quantities. I think they merely want to be ready in case the unexpected should occur.

"Play tennis at 3.30 with the President, French Ambassador, and Nick Longworth."

The diary for December 3 reveals an amusing aspect of Meyer's relation with his chief and at the same time points to material for illustration. It reads as follows: "Cabinet meeting. Although it was snowing, the President suggested tennis for the afternoon. Later this was changed to a walk at 3.30 P.M. I was obliged to give out, as there is such a mass of work to be attended to. Later, at 6 P.M., I receive the enclosed letter from the President." It came in a White House envelope, addressed in Roosevelt's own handwriting, —

"To the Postmaster General
(Secretary of Posts)

"Immediate, and highly unimportant.

"No cup from the Tennis cabinet for *you!!!!*"

The first of its two sheets reproduced herewith was signed with the initials of the President, the French

Ambassador, M. Jusserand, and Mr. Beekman Winthrop, at that time Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. The second sheet is notable for the President's Lear-like portrait of himself leading his fellow "scramblers." Altogether it is one of the informal documents testifying to the "bully time" of the Roosevelt administration.

Early in the Christmas month of 1907, Meyer issued an order to postmasters throughout the country, which resulted in a wide dissemination of pleasure through the holiday season. A young lady in Philadelphia had written to the President suggesting that something be done for the trusting children, especially of the poorer sort, who mailed letters to Santa Claus telling him what they "wanted for Christmas." The idea appealed to Roosevelt, who committed its execution to Meyer, with the result that the postmasters, before the middle of December, received the following instructions: —

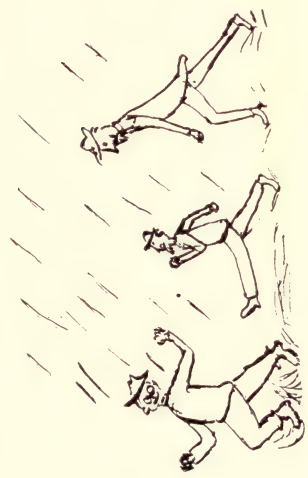
Ordered, that hereafter and until the close of the first day of January, 1908, postmasters are directed to deliver all letters arriving at their respective post-offices addressed plainly and unmistakably to "Santa Claus," without other terms or expressions identifying the person for whom such letters are intended, to any regularly organized charitable society in the city or town of address, to be used exclusively for philanthropic purposes. In the event that claim should be made by more than one such society for letters so addressed, such letters will be equally divided according to number, between or among the societies making such claim.

Dec 3d 1907

WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON.

WHITE HOUSE.
WASHINGTON.

The President of the Mollycoddle Club
(with a cigar and
a Swimmer's Scramble)



His former colleagues

To
The President
of the
Mollycoddle Club
with the grief
and regret of
his former colleagues
The Swimmers' Scramblers
and Snow Walkers'
Association.

J. R. J. J.
J. R.

AUTOGRAPH GREETING AND DRAWING FROM PRES-
IDENT ROOSEVELT

It was an order which met with universal approval. Under such headings as "Squelching 'Old Scrooge'," the press commended it warmly; and from cities in all parts of the country came reports that "Santa Claus Letters," in numbers aggregating tens of thousands, had been received and answered by deputies of the Christmas Saint. In the following year the order was not renewed. The Postmaster General, who had received nothing but praise in this matter from the newspapers in 1907, was now blamed by many of them for heeding the reports that the very publicity accorded to the plan had led to its abuse in many unworthy quarters. This was apparently the fact. Had the practice been continued to the present day, the Post Office and the charitable societies might well have attained a monopoly of Christmas.

The diary proceeded to touch upon many matters of greater moment.

"*December 11.* — Call at the White House at 10.30. The Cabinet room crowded with people. Went into the President's room, where he at once called me over to him and said, 'What do you think of my issuing a letter at once, saying that I have not been and shall not be a candidate?' I replied that within the last forty-eight hours I had come to the conclusion that it would be the best thing to do, and to do it at once. The meeting of the National Committee lately at Washington, and the action of certain Federal office-holders in the South, had placed the President before the public in the eyes of some people as though he were playing with the question and was in doubt as to

his final action. I suggested that he also get the opinion of Root. He then informed me that Root was to ride with him at 3.30, and asked me to come also.

"We met at 17th and Park Row, and the President in his direct way took up the subject at once. Root agreed that it was a proper time to make a statement, the call for the conventions having been made and the place decided upon. After some discussion it was agreed that the President should not write a letter but give out the same statement that he made November 8, 1904, with this addition: 'Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.'

"*December 12.* — President's statement printed in all the morning papers that he would not be a candidate again. His action is commended by the press of both parties all over the country. This clears the air and will force the hand of the third-termers to say exactly whom they are for.

"Cortelyou is being criticized, and his friends are supposed to have been hiding behind the third-term movement. Taft's support has suffered from the fact that he has been out of the country.

"*December 13.* — Cabinet meeting. . . . The President . . . requested me to come round to the White House at 9.30 in the evening.

"The business and commercial outlook for the future is not encouraging and the prospects are not encouraging. This is liable to affect elections next November if hard times come on and continue.

"9.30 P.M. The President seemed much pleased

by the way that his statement has been received, and it must also be a relief to have the public finally understand that he will not stand again. I went over the standing of the different candidates, and he appreciates that it will be too embarrassing having two candidates from the Cabinet, Taft and Cortelyou. He mentioned that he might ask them both to resign. I suggested that, if they both insisted on remaining candidates it might be well to compromise on Mr. Root as the administration candidate. This seemed to impress the President as a possible outcome.

“January 11, 1908. — Have a long walk with the President. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, was with us. We were taken over impossible places, climbing as best we could at considerable risk of falling. At one place, where we had to go along a narrow ledge with nothing to hold on to and every chance of falling into Rock Creek, the French Ambassador faked it, and I told him that now he had become the President of the Mollycoddles, which quite depressed him the rest of the afternoon.

“January 21. — Cabinet meeting, an exceptionally short session; get through at 12.30 and return to the office, as the President wants Root and me to ride with him and have our horses at the end of 17th St. at 3.30.

“We get mounted at 3.45, and go at once into Rock Creek Park. While riding we discuss the Japanese immigration question and the French tariff. Coming home, the President said, ‘Lodge wants me to go abroad for a year or two when I leave the White House; but I have no idea of doing it, because I should

have to call on the crowned heads and act, in a way, as though I were still President, which I am not willing to do and have no desire to. Then others want me to return to the Senate as Senator from New York. If I had never been President, I would be very glad to; but I think it would be not only unwise but in bad taste for me to go to the Senate, where I would at times not appear to be giving my successor a free hand or would be accused of trying to shape a policy. No,' he added, 'I should keep quiet and out of sight as much as possible and not embarrass the next President.' Then, turning to Root, he asked, 'How would you like to be Senator from New York?' 'I would not go across the street to get it,' replied Root, 'but I suppose I would accept it, if it was offered me.' The President then said, 'George, I have had a mighty good time, and it has been fine to have been President at an age when I could enjoy it, and we have had some good walks and rides together of a kind which former Presidents have been too old to do.'

"*February 8.* — The President sends word that he wants me to walk with him at 4 o'clock and to join him at the White House. Find Rev. Endicott Peabody, Robert Bacon, and one of his former Rough Riders. We started at 4.15 P.M. with two secret service men following. We go across the White House lot, and then over the Potomac by the long bridge — smooth going, but once over the river the President strikes downstream through frozen marshes, thick canes, and underbrush, picking out always the roughest going, at a four-mile pace. We get back to

the White House at 6.30. I tumble into a hot bath and then wrap myself up in blankets for a quarter of an hour, as we are dining at the Shoreham — Alice, James Lawrence, and Violet Vivian and myself, and then going to the theatre.

“*February 13.* — Root and I go to ride (on horse-back) with the President at 4.30 P.M. The rendezvous is 17th Street; turn into the Park and have a fine ride, the first one for a week on account of the snow. The President tells of a letter received from Tower, Ambassador at Berlin, in which he relates an audience with the Emperor, who tells him of 10,000 Japanese in Mexico who have been drilled and ready at a moment to enter the U. S. armed!! Root replied that there were hardly any Japs left in Mexico, and the President said that it was one of the Kaiser’s ‘pipe dreams.’

“*February 14.* — Cabinet meeting. Interesting discussion about Japan. Root made the statement that thirty-five per cent of the taxes in Japan went for Army and Navy purposes; that they were increasing their Army and keeping up their Navy; that the nation had almost come to the point of breaking down under the heavy burden; that sooner or later it meant a choice of revolution or war with a foreign country. The Japs had concealed from their country the real cause of peace, which was that the expense had used up almost all their resources. The President said, notwithstanding our exact information as to Japan’s preparation there were certain ‘sublimated sweetbreads’ who closed their eyes to any chance of trouble with

Japan. It was possible that she intended inroads on China, but on the other hand the treaties with England, France, and Russia called for the integrity of China.

"February 15. — The President asked me to go to walk, but I excused myself on the ground that I was to have a talk with Taft on the long distance, and with Hitchcock before he left the Department. Heard later that they swam the River (Rock Creek) as a stump.

"February 16. — Ride in the afternoon with the President, Root, and Douglas Robinson, at 4 P.M. Meet at the corner of 35th Street and T Street.

"The President said to Root, 'George Meyer, when I ask him to go to walk, refuses, but with an air which is as much as to say, "I have been several times and I am able to do it, therefore I can refuse"!!' The President told this with one of his smiles which showed all his fine teeth.

"When the ride was over, and we finished at Sheridan Circle, he said, 'I am so glad that you have not cut off riding with me as yet.'

"February 21. — At Cabinet meeting to-day the President spoke of the Japanese situation and the supposed dangers to our fleet in Eastern waters. Strictly confidential instructions have been sent to Admiral Evans and the commanding officers to be on their guard as in time of war against any torpedo or mine attack, although the President added, 'It is extremely improbable that any attempt will be made, yet anything of that sort would be so disastrous that we should

take every precaution. The German Emperor sends stories of all sorts of rumours, and if we believed them our fleets would be in the same nervous condition as that of Rodjestvensky on the way to Japan through the Baltic.' Some unforeseen event may cause Japan to strike us, but the President did not believe it likely and believed that China was much more likely to be the scene of war, if any, than our Pacific Coast.

" *February 29.* — Had a delightful ride alone with the President. We mounted at 17th near the Park at 4.30, got back at 6.30.

" I reported conditions in New York and informed him that I had told the 'reactionists' that if they continued their opposition to Taft and prevented his being nominated on the first ballot, the Convention was liable to bolt for Roosevelt. He felt this very condition might be the cause of their eventually supporting Taft, in order to avoid him.

" *March 20.* — Cabinet meeting. All present. Decide to accept the invitation from Japan to have the fleet visit their ports. Attention was brought to the publication of a Socialistic journal in Paterson. The President much incensed. It urged the use of dynamite to destroy the troops and the police. Under instructions from the President, I am to stop the transmission through the mails.

" The President read his intended message to the entire Cabinet. It was amusing to hear Taft and Bonaparte disagree as lawyers as to the meaning of certain phrases. It pleased the President and gave him the opportunity to say, 'Well, gentlemen, if you

cannot understand, how in the world will Congress be able to?’

“*March 27.*— Cabinet meeting. The Attorney General informed the Cabinet that, under the strict construction of the law, I probably had not the authority to keep certain anarchistic papers out of the mail, as the Courts had previously defined what ‘immoral’ was.

“I informed the Attorney General that it had already been done, and the President added that we had public sentiment with us, and that he should continue this policy towards the papers which threatened life and property until the Courts stopped us.

“*April 7.*— Cabinet meeting. Taft and Corley both absent.

“The President in meeting turned to me and said that he had Imperial information that I was not quite satisfied or contented being in the Cabinet, and that he, the Emperor, would be very pleased to have me come as Ambassador to Berlin; reminded the President that he had sent Speck to please him.”

During all this time Meyer was making frequent excursions to New York and Boston and many cities at a greater distance, especially for the purpose of stimulating sentiment in favour of the reforms he was advocating, notably in the system of Parcel Posts and through the establishment of Postal Savings-Banks. His self-training as a public speaker had greatly improved his capacity to plead a cause with good effect. His speeches in general were arsenals of fact, the

arguments of a business man with business men. He could turn to good account, however, the American practice of illustrative anecdote, as, for example, when he likened the persistent seekers of flaws in the Postal Savings-Banks project to an old librarian who looked carefully through a book returned to his library, and glaring through his spectacles said, "Page 89 — a hole;" and then, turning the leaf, added, "Page 90 — another hole." In the great mass of his printed addresses, in pamphlet form and newspaper files, these lighter bits are infrequent. Whether on Department or party themes, the speeches are rather the serious, fact-fortified considerations of the subjects in hand.

Early in April of 1908 one of Meyer's excursions took him to Boston, to serve as chairman of the Republican State Convention. The diary touches upon his reception there and immediately takes the reader back to Washington, where plans for the next presidential campaign were constantly in the making.

"[Boston] *April 9.* — Find Taft sentiment very strong in the state. Have a conference at my office, Cabot Lodge, Eben Draper, Otis Wardwell, and Langtry, representing Murray Crane. Later Lodge, Crane, Draper, and Langtry and I dine at the Union Club. They leave at 8, to attend reception at the American House.

"It was 3 o'clock A.M. before they came to an understanding, which was that, while it was acknowledged that a majority of the delegates of the Convention favoured the nomination of Taft, it was believed that in the interests of harmony it was advisable not

to pass any instructions or resolutions of preference.

"*April 10.* — Convention met at 10.30. Mr. Doty acted as temporary chairman and called the organization to order. Later, a committee was appointed to wait on me and escort me to the chair. I was given an enthusiastic and cordial reception. My address took about 40 minutes, and was well received.

"The platform followed, which was read by Mr. Smith, former President of the Senate. I was surprised by the strong endorsement that it gave me, associating my name with President Roosevelt in the Peace Conference between Russia and Japan, and upholding the policies favoured by me as Postmaster General.

"Lodge followed in an able speech, and the Convention unanimously endorsed and supported the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

"*April 19.* — Easter Sunday. The President telephones to meet him for a ride at 17th Street, 4 o'clock, to bring any member of my family. Sixteen of us in all — Cabot Lodge, Mr. and Mrs. Bacon, Martha Bacon, Mr. and Mrs. Austin Wadsworth, Ethel Roosevelt, Del Ames, Phillips, Fitzhugh Lee, Julia and myself.

"The President started off in a canter right through Rock Creek Park, until Ethel said, 'Pa, if you don't walk, some of the horses will drop dead.' It was a long but lovely ride down Sligo Creek and back through Soldiers' Home. The party got separated, but joined again on the other side of Soldiers'

Home. I do not think the President liked it, as it is etiquette to let him always lead the way.

"*April 24.* — Cabinet meeting. Taft consulted the President, Root, and myself about his trip to Panama in order to straighten matters with Colombia, etc. The President asked if Bacon could not go in his place, but Root was most decided that it would not do. I suggested that, if the Associated Press were given an article clearly showing the necessity of it, and if it would only require about three weeks' time, I did not believe it would hurt his candidacy.

"*April 28.* — Cabinet meeting. Root brought up the matter of diplomatic uniforms, on account of a letter which he had received from Hill as to what he should do in Berlin, Tower having adopted a uniform of his own. The President asked me what I had done. I related that in Italy I had worn at all state and official functions, no matter what the time of day, an evening suit. On arrival I had requested through the proper official the privilege of wearing a frock coat on the occasion of my audience with the King, but it had been denied by the préfet of the palace. In Russia, when I arrived, I had worn an evening dress suit at my first audience with the Emperor, which was at noon, and the same with all the other members of the royal family. Later I heard that the Emperor would appreciate it if I should continue to wear a uniform as my two predecessors had done. Therefore I made up my mind to do so in the future without consulting the State Department, as it meant nothing to me, and it was important to make a good

impression and overcome prejudices, in order to accomplish the results for which I was sent there by the President. The law prohibits the State Department from prescribing a uniform, but it permits each ambassador and minister to wear whatever is appropriate. I added that if Hill now took to wearing a dress suit on all occasions, they would think that he was trying to show how much better he knew than Tower, and might be in bad taste at this time. The President agreed with me, and instructed Root to inform Hill to wear whatever he thought was appropriate.

"May 1.— Cabinet meeting. The President said it is evident that Congress is not in sympathy with the Administration and intends to do nothing, or as little as possible. This will make it hard to reëlect some of them, or explain Congress's lack of action on the platform this autumn. I called attention to the fact that the Congressmen were taking their cue from the Speaker, and he should be held accountable for their omissions.

"May 4.— Call on Senator Carter [of Montana] and warn him about the attempt that may be made to stop a vote being taken on the Postal Savings-Bank Bill, which is now on the Senate Calendar. Then go to the White House and have an interview with the President behind closed doors, while about 50 people are kept waiting, including Senators and Representatives.

"The President is to send for Senator Carter to encourage him on his work for Postal Savings. The President stated, in connection with his work as Presi-

dent, [that] there was a time quite lately when he felt sorry to give up, but that he was quite reconciled and had become tremendously interested in his proposed African trip. He should let his son have his freshman year at Harvard, but then he should take him away to go into Africa with him.

"*June 1.* — Arrive at 11.32 from Philadelphia. Go straight to the White House to see the President. . . . Informed me that Reid¹ had cabled that the present Cabinet were very anxious to announce my decision as soon as possible, and that Reid wanted it to take effect July 4. Informed the President I had been waiting for Congress to adjourn, and that I would probably send a cable this afternoon to Buxton, the Postmaster General in England.

"Five P.M. this afternoon cabled the P.M.G., London, that we would adopt two-cent an ounce postage with Great Britain and Ireland, to take effect October 1. This, I believe, will lead to closer relations commercially and otherwise. I telephoned Ambassador Bryce at 7 P.M. of my message to Buxton.

"*June 2.* — Cabinet meeting. Taft rather depressed to-day because the papers have been jumping on him for having referred to General Grant as having overcome the tendency to drink hard. I do not think it will do any harm, and told him so.

"We got into a general debate as to the future of the negro, and how little was open to him. The President spoke of the bitter feeling that must come to them

¹ Whitelaw Reid, Ambassador to Great Britain: the subject of his message was the agreement which Meyer had been negotiating for two-cent postage to England.

as they realized how they were handicapped, no matter what their ability might be.

“Received a cable from Sydney Buxton saying that he should announce penny postage with the United States to-morrow at 4 P.M. in the House of Commons.

“*June 3.*—I announced through the press this afternoon that two-cent letter postage had been arranged with Great Britain and Ireland, to take effect October 1, 1908.

“This afternoon received a cable from Sydney Buxton that the announcement of penny postage with the U. S. had been received with applause.

“*June 4.*—The papers have spoken favourably of the two-cent postage to be established with England. Many congratulatory letters, one very nice one from Mr. James, former Postmaster General, and another from Lyman Abbott of the *Outlook*.”

As the Republican National Convention, which nominated Mr. Taft for the Presidency, drew near, the newspapers contained many rumours that the conduct of the campaign was to be committed to Mr. Meyer. His characteristic dealing with this matter formed the subject of the following portion of a letter to Mrs. Meyer, who had gone to Europe with her daughters, for a cure for one of them at Kissingen, early in May:—

. . . Last evening I went out to see the President on account of an article which appeared in the *Washington Times*.

The statement was made that I was to be Chairman of the National Committee and run the campaign, and then next year I was going to reënter the Cabinet and become Secretary of the Treasury. There had been rumours coming to me from different newspaper men, and so I thought it was just as well to run the matter down and stop it if possible. So I went up to see Loeb, and he finally acknowledged that he had told Taft that he thought that I would be the best man to run his campaign for him, and intimated to me the President had said the same. So after dinner, having an appointment at the White House, I consulted the President, and found that he had told Taft this: that if he were running again for President, he should want me, of all men, to manage the campaign for him, for numerous reasons, which it is unnecessary for me now to enumerate. I told the President that in my judgment it would be a political mistake. There had been talk that the Post Office had been used for political purposes for Taft's nomination; and now if, on top of that, having made Hitchcock manager before the Convention, I should resign from his Cabinet and go in and take the Chairmanship and run the campaign with Hitchcock as an assistant, it would be impossible to make the public believe that we had not been using the Post-Office Department all along; also that I felt that the work I had been putting in on postal savings-banks and parcel post would be lost if I went out of the Cabinet at this time, and that there was a very good chance of putting it through the Senate next December, and that the sentiment was now changing in the House favourably to these measures. With additional work I felt I could probably get the postal-savings bank bill through and get something done in the way of a local parcel post on rural routes — that I was very anxious to accomplish this during his Administration. With a new man in the Post Office, who would have to play second fiddle to my views and would prob-

ably not take interest in these measures, the matters would go by default; that I considered the postal savings-banks the most important possible legislation at the present time that had not been enacted, in which he agreed with me. He said that he had not looked at it from all those points of view, and felt there was a good deal in what I said; that of course it was not for him to decide who should be Chairman, and that he had merely stated to Taft his feelings, as he felt very strongly the importance of the choice of the man. I am to dine with the Swiss Minister on Saturday night. Mr. and Mrs. Taft are to be present, and I shall, if he is not too tired, go over the whole matter, later in the evening. Having turned cold water on it, I want to play the hose on the scheme as well.

Three days later the diary records a close match of doubles at tennis on the White House grounds, and proceeds:—

“June 8.— . . . The President asked me to come back at 9.30, to meet Taft and himself and go over the platform. At 9.30 Taft, Ellis, who had written the rough draft, and myself met the President in his library. Taft read aloud the manuscript and the President made suggestions or slight changes. He complimented Ellis on the form and language. I was much pleased to find that both the President and Taft were decided to have Postal Savings in the Platform.

“We worked until midnight perfecting. The President was very humorous at times.”

In view of the part that submarines have recently played in the affairs of the world a portion of the extracts from the following letter, written less than

ten years before the United States entered the European war, possesses an interest historic in its significance: —

To Mrs. Meyer

WASHINGTON, *June 15, 1908.*

I was unable to get a letter off to you on the Saturday steamer, for the reason that I went away unexpectedly on the *Mayflower*, with Taft and Metcalf, on Friday afternoon at four o'clock, down the Potomac as far as Norfolk, where we arrived early the next morning and were present at the attack on the *Florida* with a torpedo — the most powerful one that has been made up to the present time. The object of the experiment was to demonstrate that, if the compartments on a battleship were properly constructed, the ship could not be sunk. The officials were so confident as to the result of the torpedo attack that thirty men and officers remained on board the *Florida*. When the torpedo struck the *Florida*, it threw a volume of water about 150 feet in the air, which concealed the ship for a few moments, and it was a great relief to see the *Monitor* still floating a few seconds later, although she had a slight list to starboard. We immediately got into an electric launch and went on board, and found every one much interested in the result, with only water in the compartment, although they said the shock was so great that she seemed to be lifted out of the water after the concussion. She was then towed to the Norfolk Navy Yard and put into the dry-dock, and there we examined the results and found a hole in her, under the armour belt-line, sufficiently large to put the brougham into; but the other compartments were not injured. This is the first experiment of this kind that has ever been made, and they have only been able to judge what the effects would be in time of war.¹

¹ Meyer wrote in his diary for June 13: "The experiment will remove much dread of the torpedo which now exists."

This attack was made on the most vulnerable part of the ship. In the afternoon we sailed again for Washington, arriving here Sunday morning at six o'clock. Each of us had an aide on board — General Edwards being assigned to Mr. Taft, Lieutenant-Commander Clenin Davis to Metcalf, and Lieutenant-Colonel Charley MacCawley to me. We had two of the most beautiful nights I ever saw on the water, and coming back, as it was rather warm, I slept on deck. . . .

Our last Cabinet meeting is to come this week Friday, the President leaving Saturday, the 20th, for Oyster Bay. I expect to go on then and join "Bey" and be present at Commencement, and arrange with him to sail either on the *Mauretania*, on the 24th, or the *Touraine*, on the 25th.

I think I have fixed it now so they will not make me chairman, and it is a great relief to me, as I should have had to drop the work into which I have been putting so much time.

The new fiscal year begins on the first of July, and there will be a number of matters that will require my attention that month, and I do not feel that it would be opportune, for many reasons, for me to leave and go abroad at this time. Things might happen which would be unfortunate if I were away. My plan is to go up, as soon as "Bey" sails, to the *Restigouche* and get three weeks of complete rest and fishing, and then, later, to see just what your plans are. Taft is practically nominated, and the only interest now is to see who will be made Vice-President. It would not surprise me if they took Fairbanks over again, although no one has been definitely decided upon as yet.¹ The fight as well as the interest at present is on the resolutions, that is, the platform, and the President, Taft, and the Cabinet are all backing me up in my efforts to have postal savings-banks and parcel post made two of the important planks.

¹ James S. Sherman, of New York, was nominated.

[*Diary*]

"*June 16.*— Cabinet meeting. Bonaparte, Metcalf, and Garfield absent.

"The President, speaking of very moral and religious people, said that some Catholics and strict Episcopalians at the end of Lent were almost impossible, having fasted to such an extent that it was impossible to get on with them. If he were picking out a husband or wife, for comfort's sake, he would rather have them a little less moral.

"Signed a parcel-post convention with the Italian Ambassador. While I was American Ambassador at Rome there was much complaint at there not being a parcel-post arrangement between the two countries.

"At the Cabinet meeting to-day Straus announced that Cleveland was very ill, in fact that he had pretty much lost his mind. Root remarked that when a man had been exerting great mental force and then suddenly stopped, it was sure to happen; Wilson added, more surely kill him. This amused the President who said, 'I suppose it is about time then to begin the obituaries on me.'"

For the next few days Meyer's diary followed the Republican National Convention at Chicago in some detail. On the 18th there was a note of rejoicing that the "Postal Savings Bank was put into the Republican platform and the platform as reported by the Committee was adopted by the Convention yesterday. This is a defeat for Speaker Cannon, who went on to

Chicago on purpose to keep it out of the platform."

On the next day he wrote to his wife in Europe: "As you will have seen from the cabled reports, Taft was nominated on the first ballot and the nomination was made unanimous. We were all pleased, as there was a little nervousness on account of the extraordinary applause and enthusiasm for Roosevelt the day before, lasting for 49 minutes; but fortunately that expended itself on that day and the programme was carried out as designed and intended." In the same letter, lamenting his inability to join his family abroad "in the face of the election," he wrote also: "It is trying not to be able always to do what one wants, but somehow or other those unoccupied creatures who are able to go north, south, east, or west at their own will are not always the happiest."

A few days later Meyer wrote in his diary:—

[“Boston] *June 24.* — Horrors! My 50th birthday. I wonder if every one has always felt as I do about it. All youth is over, though Victor Hugo says it is the youth of old age.

“Ex-President Cleveland died to-day, seventy-one years old.

“I went out to Commencement to-day — very hot, dull and depressing. Saw Choate and congratulated him on looking so well. He asked me what I was going to be next.”

On the next day there was a characteristic note: “Twenty-third anniversary of my wedding. The best day in my life was the day I married my wife.”

What he was “going to be next” remained an

unsettled question for some months after Mr. Taft's nomination. Clearly Meyer could not become "one of those unoccupied creatures" to whom he had recently alluded. The chairmanship of the Republican National Committee remained unfilled until early in July. On July 2 Meyer wrote in one of his frequent letters to his wife: "To-day I lunched alone with Taft and we went over the chairmanship situation, which is still in a snarl; but I think I have got it fixed so that I shall not be called upon. We hope to solve it within a day or two." This was accomplished, by the choice of Mr. Frank Hitchcock, in the following week, at a conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, to which Mr. Taft summoned Meyer and other political advisers. With much relief Meyer went at once to the Restigouche for the salmon-fishing from which he always returned in better trim for hard work. There was plenty of it ahead in connection both with the campaign and with the conduct of his Department. The diary recalls many interests of the arduous weeks following his return to the United States early in August.

"*August 9.* — Write Taft telling him he must expect complaints from the various factions throughout the country in the different states until election day; that I can appreciate how irritating it is, and that it is therefore all the more important that he get his exercise every day, in order to be in good condition to withstand the aggravations of the campaign.

"*August 19.* — Leave Boston on the 10 A.M. train for New York and take the 4.30 from 34th Street

Ferry for Oyster Bay. The train had attached two parlour cars, which were used as club cars and were supplied with newspapers, card-tables for bridge, and two coloured men who served drinks. I found some friends on board and was much refreshed by a White Rock lemonade. Reached Oyster Bay at quarter before six, where the President's carriage waited for myself and L. Frothingham.

"Mrs. Roosevelt and the President had just returned from a sea-bath, and we joined them in a cup of tea. I proposed having a swim before dinner, and the President offered to walk down with us to the beach. When we got there, a distance of about a half mile, he proposed going in with us although he had been in the water only an hour previous.

"I found it difficult to keep up with him swimming out to the raft, and on the way home he brought us back by a longer route through the woods, about a mile. I think the idea was to have me see one of the big oaks on the place, but by the time we reached the house I was so warm that I had to take a shower-bath before dinner.

"At dinner all the family were present, including Mrs. Longworth and Miss Ethel. After dinner I sat out on the piazza with the President. Mrs. Roosevelt retired early and Alice Longworth and the boys played bridge whist. The President told me of his plans and arrangements for his African trip immediately following his retirement from Washington, March 4. He should sail about the 15th for Naples, and from there take the steamer to the African Coast,

arriving at Cairo eleven months later. Specimens would be collected in Africa for the National Museum, and some taxidermists would accompany him and Kermit. *Collier's* had offered him for his trip \$100,000, but he declined it and accepted \$50,000 from *Scribner's*. . . . 'I shall only tell about a half-dozen men my plans—Root, Taft, Cabot, and yourself.' Then he added, 'I have received a great many offers, but finally accepted one from the *Outlook* to write, whenever I wanted to, on public and political questions. This does not refer to any books that I may publish on other subjects.'

"The President then asked me, if he went to Rome would he have to have an audience with the King and the Pope. I assured him he would not be able to avoid them, and that he would enjoy talking with the King. The Pope, whom he would also have to see, only spoke Italian. His desire was to do in each country what was proper and dignified, but he wanted to avoid official ceremonies and public recognition at banquets, etc., in every possible way. 'In England,' he added, 'there is a real reason for my stopping there, as Lord Curzon, the Chancellor of Oxford, has invited me to make an address, and they are to confer upon me the highest honorary degree.'

"Next morning we played tennis, the President and I against Teddy and Kermit. We won, and then changed sides. At lunch there was present a number of New York State politicians who had come down to consult the President about the Governorship.

"*August 22.*—Arrived in Washington yesterday

morning early. Worked at the Department until 7 P.M. Left at 11.10 P.M. for Hot Springs, Va. Arrived at 8.30 A.M.

"Taft and I went out at 10.15 to play golf. Of course we did a lot of talking politics between the holes. He is in splendid shape and looks fine, even if he does weigh 300 lbs. . . . We tied 9 holes and our score was 91 to 92. I won 1 up in holes as well as in medal play.

"We were to have ridden at 5 o'clock, but a heavy thunder shower prevented. So instead we talked and planned in his room about the campaign until dinner-time.

"*August 24.*—Played golf with Taft in the morning; again won 1 hole up, but my score was 89 and his 94. He was off his game.

"In the afternoon went to ride with Taft and John Warrington of Ohio. He was under Sheridan in the war, and he related some most interesting anecdotes about the famous general. Warrington claims that Sheridan had real genius.

"Got home just in time to have dinner and catch the 8.00 P.M. express for Washington.

"Taft was most cordial and said he was very glad that I came down, and asked me to continue to write him.

"*September 22.*—President Roosevelt gives an interview in the press in which he publishes Taft's letter showing that last winter he refused to compromise with Foraker and thus go back on his principles. President urges Taft as the fitting man to be elected,

on account of his integrity and experience; points to Governor Haskell of Oklahoma and his connections with the Standard Oil — its methods.

“The President arrives in Washington at 5.55; met by his Cabinet. I complimented the President on his Napoleonic move in the press. Replied that he thought he would hit Bryan hard and stir up the campaign.

“Bryan sends a telegram to the President, demanding proof of Governor Haskell’s connection with the Standard Oil, etc. Campaign is now getting interesting — apathy disappeared.

“*September 23.* — President sends for me to hear his reply to Bryan’s telegram. Stay there from 10.30 to 12 o’clock, and he desires Garfield and myself to return at 3 o’clock and meet him in his study in the White House, in order to review it in its final form.

“In the afternoon Secretary of War Wright was also present. I got the President to change the last paragraph, which rather implied that some dishonest men of affairs or unscrupulous corporations would be found to be on Bryan’s side in this election, etc. He agreed to leave it all out. The article is clear and powerful, and will convict Haskell in the public mind. Did not leave the White House until 7 P.M. The article given to the press at 7.45 P.M.

“*September 24.* — The President invited me to go to the theatre to see ‘The Gentleman from Mississippi,’ and dine beforehand at the White House. At dinner — General Young, Miss Hagner, Captain Butt — six in all, including Mrs. Roosevelt and myself.

"The play was at the National Theatre. The plot laid in Washington and represents new Socialist Senator from Mississippi beset by temptation and graft, etc. Some of the scenes amused the President and appealed to him just at this time, after the exposé of Senator Foraker.

"*September 25.* — Cabinet meeting. All present with the exception of Root.

"The general consensus of opinion was that the President's answer to Bryan's telegram was dignified and conclusive. It will probably result in Governor Haskell being obliged to resign from the treasurership of the Democratic Committee, as the President has demonstrated his moral and political unfitness to hold any political office.

"*September 26.* — Stopped in at the White House this morning at 10 A.M. President had not come to the office. I wanted to make an engagement for Percy Haughton and Captain Burr of the [Harvard] Football Eleven. At 10.15 the President said he would see them gladly at 12 o'clock. At that hour he was in the middle of an article that he was preparing, to answer Bryan and Haskell concerning the granting of permits to oil companies in Indian Territory. He stopped and greeted the young men in the most hearty manner, wished that Ted had been heavy enough to have played on the eleven. Haughton wants Lieut. Graves for a short time, to coach the eleven at Cambridge. The President asked me to take them to Secretary Wright, Secretary of War, and wrote, 'If you can do this properly I should like it. I was a Harvard

man before I was a politician.' The President asked me to come back at 3 o'clock in order to read what he had prepared for the press. Just as I was leaving the actors of 'The Gentleman from Mississippi' came in to be presented. The President assured them that he had enjoyed the play, which represents political life and corruption in politics. Ten years ago I would not believe such corruption possible, but now I might believe it.

"At three o'clock I read over the President's statement, which is very strong and pointed. Advised not publishing it until Monday, which was finally decided upon, as it was reported that Bryan would publish his answer Sunday.

"*September 27.* — Bryan's answer appears in the morning papers. . . . Receive word from the White House to come there at 3 P.M. At that hour I found Abbott of the *Outlook*, Cortelyou, and Straus already assembled. The President dictated in our presence his reply to Bryan. It is interesting to see his brain work as he walks up and down the room, and the rapid changes of expression in his face as the thoughts develop into words. His vigour, earnestness, and sincerity make themselves evident in every movement, and he thoroughly enjoys the effort and action in his work which would be a nervous strain to most men. As we were doubtful about the last two pages and his references to Bryan and the result of his policies, at 6 o'clock he asked us to return at 9, when he would have it rewritten. I had Abbott and Roland [Cotton] Smith dine with me, and nine o'clock found

Abbott and myself back at the White House. Each was given a page and then passed on to the others for such criticism as we saw fit. The result was that the President destroyed the last two pages and condensed them into a single sentence of a few lines. During the evening, when Straus criticized certain lines, the President, quick as a flash, said, 'Remember that this is a poster, not an etching.'

"*September 29.* — Cabinet meeting. Root not yet back and Garfield absent.

"Discussed the general situation when the business of the meeting was over. The labour vote looks ominous, and it is very difficult to get money sufficient to run the campaign.

"As I was leaving, the President asked me to go riding with him at 4.30. We were to mount our horses at 17th and Park Road. During our ride he said, 'Of course, at times I used to be in doubt as to whether I had not made a mistake to announce that I would not take a third term, and even regretted it at moments. So again during this campaign I have regretted that I have refused to stump and attack Bryan's policies; but Bryan's telegram gave me an opening which I was glad to seize and I feel relieved, but I do not think I will say any more to him.' Which I feel is wise.

"*September 30.* — The President announced that, as Bryan's answer is a personal attack on him, he would not reply.

"*October 1.* — Dine with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House.

“Two-cent postage went into effect with the United Kingdom of Great Britain, as agreed between myself and Postmaster General Sydney Buxton last summer. Very favourably commented upon by the press in general. The New York City Post Office prepared for it by putting on an extra force.”

A letter written two days later in London, by J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., who in 1898 had carried the Imperial Penny-Postage Scheme in Parliament and had also introduced telegraph money-orders in England and parcel post to France, may well be read at this point.

From J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.

CARLTON CLUB, 13 October, 1908.

MY DEAR POSTMASTER GENERAL, —

I cannot allow the first steamer carrying letters at a penny-postage rate from the United Kingdom to the United States to depart without recording my heartfelt thanks to you, for your splendid action in brushing aside what is well termed “Red Tape” and circumlocution, and declaring boldly for Penny Postage with Great Britain and Ireland.

With refreshing candour, unknown to diplomatists, you wrote to me a year and three months ago (July 17, 1907), and simply asked to be privately informed of the views of the Postal Authorities in this Country on the two-cent postage proposal, and if favourable you informed me that you would at once proceed to England to settle the question.

I declare my conviction that, had it not been for your prompt action, Anglo-American penny postage would not have taken place for ten years. This note is written in no sense of

condemning any one, but in justice to you and to show that the credit is yours.

I am perfectly certain that the trade and good feeling engendered will repay you tenfold.

With high regards,

Believe me yours faithfully,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

THE HON. GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

Postmaster General.

P.S. I shall be glad if you will allow the above to be published.

H. H.

The recognition to which this friend of postal reform in England gave expression came also from many other sources of intelligent opinion. Indeed the establishment of transatlantic two-cent postage was an event of outstanding significance in the development of international relations, and deserved all the praise it called forth. Like the majority of human beings, Meyer was habitually pleased to have his good work recognized. In a letter of praise to somebody else he wrote, while he was Postmaster General: "A busy man can afford occasionally to accept a little well-earned commendation;" and, during the same period, he made the frank avowal, when he himself was highly praised: "I always did like molasses much better than vinegar."

At about the same time with the reduction of postage to and from Great Britain a smaller improvement in the postal service attracted wide attention. This was instituted through an order from the Postmaster-General directing postmasters to confer with the school authorities of their communities about the practicability

of giving instruction to the pupils of the schools in elementary postal matters. The lack of this knowledge, in the simple matter of addressing letters, had caused more than three million pieces of mail matter to go to the Dead Letter Office during the preceding year. Meyer's instinct of the practical — and workable — led him direct to the public schools as the most promising distributing centre for the information he wished to spread. Another intensely practical order — of which the results are a daily blessing to automobilists throughout the land, though few of them know that Meyer is to be thanked for it — was that which required a universal display of signs on post offices indicating the names of the offices. The traveller generally knows the name of the city in which he happens to find himself, but as one is now whirled from smaller place to place at railroad speed, the frequent orientations by means of post-office signs are true occasions for gratitude. The list of more technical changes in postal administration introduced under instructions by Mr. Meyer would be more germane to a postal report than to a biography. For the present purpose it is best to turn again to the diary.

"*October 8.* — The President told me he enjoyed immensely the black ducks I sent,¹ but ate too much. I quoted Franklin — 'Eat not to dullness, drink not to elevation.' He said, 'I always did dislike Franklin's sayings.'

"*October 9.* — Cabinet meeting. Wilson and Garfield absent.

¹ After a day's shooting on Long Island.

“The President, speaking of the Balkan troubles, said he hoped that Austria would hold Bosnia and Herzegovina; that he distrusted the Servians — they were a set of cutthroats, as shown by the manner that they murdered their King and Queen; that England’s policy with Turkey, and ever since 1872, had been error and had bolstered up the miserable Turk.

“*October 13.* — Cabinet meeting. There was considerable discussion about the coming election, the unpopularity of Hughes with the farmers, railroad men, and horsemen all over the state. This would also hurt Taft, because the straight ticket was not going to be voted. Yet he will run very much ahead of Hughes. Then again, Ohio is not looking any too certain on account of the liquor question, the negro, and labour. There are a great many local fights going on in the Republican Party in many states. The Democrats are more united than usual.

“*October 16.* — . . . The President read a letter which he wanted to send to Governor Haskell. All the Cabinet advised against it. Finally Root said, if Haskell wrote the President officially, it should be referred to the State Department for a reply. It was so referred.

“Then the President read a letter to the Cabinet, in answer to a clergyman who stated that there were many who were prejudiced against Taft because he was a Unitarian. Again the Cabinet felt it unwise to send the letter. Root made the point that it was such a personal matter that Taft, who was arriving to-morrow, should see it, and be consulted as to whether he

desired it or not. This was agreed to by the President as wise. He added, 'If it was in my own case and my own campaign, I have not the slightest doubt.'

"Sir Rennell and Lady Rodd¹ arrive to-morrow morning to make us a visit.

"*October 18.* — . . . After dinner Rodd and I leave for the White House, to introduce Rodd to the President and at the same time give him the opportunity to see Taft again. Garfield came in as we were entering, and upstairs in the President's study we found the President, Taft, and Wright. Taft recalled meeting Rodd in Rome. The President delighted Rodd by talking about his books and showing his familiarity with them. We stayed until after eleven and had a most informal and delightful evening. Mr. Roosevelt turned to Rodd, and asked him about going to Italy and England and merely seeing the Kings informally in an audience, without any dinner functions, saying he had already consulted me. Fortunately Rodd assured him, as I had done, that it was quite feasible. Taft chaffed the President and said, 'Wait till you get there. Don't imagine that you are going to get through those countries as if you were invisible; you may avoid "pink teas," but I will wait and let you tell me about it all when you return. It will be nearer my idea than yours.'

"We all left about eleven o'clock, Taft to return to his private car and proceed in the morning to Baltimore."

¹ Sir Rennell Rodd, now British Ambassador at Rome, was First Secretary to the British Embassy there, during Meyer's Italian Ambassadorship.

Through the final days of the Taft campaign Meyer, like other members of the Cabinet, contributed his personal effort to his colleague's election, and made political speeches in Ohio, Maryland, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Here he voted on November 3, and had the satisfaction of telegraphing the President-elect his heartiest congratulations when the day's work was done. Some passages from the diary will suffice to touch upon ensuing events.

"November 13. — Cabinet meeting very short. After the meeting every Cabinet member stayed to speak with the President, so I left, intending to return a little before one. At one o'clock found the President alone, when he told me that Perkins had informed him that Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island had said that it would be a mistake to make me Secretary of the Treasury, as I could not get along with the Western senators. The President told Perkins that I understood the West very much better than Aldrich, and that he felt that I was peculiarly fitted to be Secretary of the Treasury. This is to assist Cortelyou, and at the same time it would please Aldrich to have me turned down, as he is opposed to Postal Savings Banks.

"I played tennis in the afternoon with the President, Jusserand, and Winthrop.

"November 28. — The papers announce Hitchcock is to be Postmaster General in the next Cabinet, and it appears to be official. I have been mentioned for Secretary of the Treasury, which the President hopes I will receive, and some papers have said that

it would be Secretary of State. I know that there is no chance of the latter, and the former, while at one time probable, is now less so on account of Hitchcock being from Massachusetts."

On the last day of November the following note was written: "My second annual report is published; shows deficit of nearly 17 millions. With the normal increase and without the 9 millions' raise in salaries, there would have been a surplus of \$2,000,000." On December 1 Meyer wrote: "Recommend to the President, which he agrees to, signing an executive order putting all Fourth Class Postmasters on the Civil Service list in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The Congressmen will kick in some instances, but it will be better for the service."

Notes on the probable make-up of Mr. Taft's Cabinet follow from time to time: on December 18, for example, "Taft told the President that I was just the man that he wanted for Secretary of the Navy;" and, on January 4, "The President wrote to Taft thanking him for his decision [reported by Senator Lodge] and saying that he was glad it was decided about me." The uncertainty on this point, however, was not definitely removed until mid-February. Mr. Taft himself has more recently said that the personal knowledge of Meyer's ability which he acquired while they were fellow-members of the Roosevelt cabinet had shown him, without the need of further proof, that

Meyer should be chosen to direct the Navy Department in his administration.

A few more glimpses of the Cabinet and Washington in the final days of President Roosevelt's term must close the chapter.

"January 12, 1909. — Cabinet meeting and official dinner.

"Root explained about the treaties which he had just completed with Colombia, the Republic of Panama, and the United States; also an important treaty with Canada concerning the waterways, etc. Root seemed pleased and gratified with the result. He has been quite concerned that he would go out of office without making a settlement between Colombia, Panama, and the United States. At Cabinet meeting some one spoke of the Ananias Club, and I said that there was quite a waiting list to all appearances; which amused Root and the others. The President did not laugh as much as the others.

"January 19. — Cabinet meeting. All present. Knox, as is known, will be the new Secretary of State, and Root was yesterday unanimously named in the Republican caucus for Senator from New York. The President stated that a Congressman suggested to him that, as the two men were going to change places, so also would their minds and sympathies change concerning the executive and legislative rights. 'I told him, said the President, 'that within six months that might be the case as to Knox, but that if I knew anything, it would not apply to Root.'

"January 26. — Cabinet meeting. Root takes his



Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Bonaparte, Joseph B. Brown, James Wilson, Robert Bacon, Samuel D. Mitchell, John D. Rockefeller, James C. McLaughlin, James H. McLaughlin, James H. McLaughlin, James H. McLaughlin

OUTGOING CABINET OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, MARCH 9, 1909
 THE ROOSEVELT CABINET, WITH AUTOGRAPHS

leave of the President, and after the meeting says good-bye to his colleagues. He reported that, after a meeting with the British Ambassador, the Canadian representative, and the Newfoundland representative, lasting from 12 noon on Sunday until midnight, they agreed upon a fisheries treaty agreeable and satisfactory to all. It still has to be ratified by the Newfoundland Premier.

“Root finally got all his treaties in shape. This is the beginning of the breaking up of the Roosevelt Cabinet. We shall miss him very much — especially the President.

“*January 31.* — Give a dinner to the German Ambassador and Countess Bernstorff. Both very attractive; will be a great addition to the Diplomatic Corps. Baron Rosen, the Russian Ambassador, also a guest. I think he is disappointed at not being made Ambassador to Rome, though he did not say so. Iswolsky has named Prince Dolgorouky, the uncle of Countess Fersen. I used to meet him at the Grand Duke Vladimir's while I was in Russia. Has not been in the career for ten years, and his last post was Persia.

“*February 2.* — Cabinet meeting. The President speaks of the bills in the California legislature intended to discriminate against Japanese. Feels that it is serious and will give naturally great offense to Japan. Has written the Governor of California and asked that no legislation be enacted on the question until the receipt of his letter. Disgusted with California's short-sightedness. Refers to ——'s remark, ‘when

this state seceded.' Regretted it, because the state was too small to become a nation, and too large to put into a lunatic asylum.

"*February 5.* — At Cabinet meeting to-day, the President spoke of the seriousness of Nevada's and California's ill-advised and insulting resolution and legislation to the Japanese in their states. He thought it fortunate that the fleet was not on the Pacific Coast, as we could never explain to Japan that the actions of these two state legislatures had not been with the approval of the Federal Government.

"The President, in speaking of his actions while in office, mentioned the inviting of Booker Washington to a meal at the White House as a mistake on his part; not in the action itself, but the effect on the South was injurious and misinterpreted.

"Leave on the one o'clock train for Philadelphia, to attend the Bankers' Dinner and make an address on Postal Savings Banks.

"*February 6.* — The Bankers' Dinner last night was attended by over 600 guests, and the galleries were crowded with ladies. I had to make the opening address, and was gratified — my arguments well received and favourably commented upon by some of the bankers. The speeches continued until midnight. These occasions are always too extended, yet the evening was not finished — more food and supper at the Racquet Club for a few of the selected guests. I got away at 1.30 A.M. No wonder public men wear out early in life — with us.

"Arrive in Washington at 1 A.M. Bishop Law-

rence and Julia Lawrence, Endicott Peabody and Mrs. Peabody and Amory Lawrence lunched with us.

"*February 9.* — Cabinet meeting. The President decides to veto the bill which removes the penalty of loss of citizenship for desertion in time of peace from the Army or Navy. He is furious with the peace crowd, who do not want to keep up the Navy and say we will not have war anyway.

"Root writes me from Hot Springs that he is getting on beautifully; 'hope to find you in the Cabinet when I return, with your decks cleared for action in another Department, a Department that needs the sound business sense and administrative capacity which you have exhibited.'

"The papers announce that under the Constitution Knox is not eligible for the Cabinet, having voted for a raise in salary from \$8,000 to \$12,000 during his term as Senator, which does not expire until 1911. Comment on the fact that two such eminent jurists as Taft and Knox should not have thought of this.

"*February 10.* — Alice and the girls leave for Boston, where they will remain for a week.

"Dine with Senator Crane, the Knoxes, Clarks, Keans, Foster, Gallinger, Mrs. Slater, etc. All Senators but myself, with the exception of Beekman Winthrop. Knox came up to me after we had finished our cigars and said, 'You are the ranking man, you must make the move.' I replied, 'I am looking to the rising sun.' He answered, 'I am looking at the sun that is shining.' Again, when we were leaving, Knox said to his wife, who was talking to me, 'I suppose you

have told all the secrets. Did you tell Meyer that he was going into the Cabinet?' and they both laughed.

"*February 16.* — Cabinet meeting. Taft arrived after the Cabinet adjourned, about one o'clock. Every one had left but the President and myself. He greeted me as 'Brother Meyer.' He looked brown and well.

"Meet Carter and Aldrich in the Finance Committee of the Senate, and we agree on a Postal-Savings-Bank bill. This would appear to insure its passage.

"The President telephoned me to be at the White House at 6.30. Found the President and Taft both there, fixing up the message to Congress on the Panama Canal, which is to remain a lock canal. Then the President turned to me and said, 'I asked Mr. Taft if he had decided on his Secretary of the Navy, and he said "Yes, Meyer," and he has consented that I may talk with you about it in connection with the Naval Policy.'

"After Taft left, the President and I took a walk round the White House — discussed naval affairs.

"*February 17.* — Committee on Post Office and Post Roads report favourably on a trial in two counties of parcel post on rural routes. It is attached to the appropriation bill.

"Taft telephones me to meet him at the Union Station at 3.30. Get there just as he is getting out of his automobile. We sit down on a bench in the Union Station and the secret service men [form] a cordon about us. I find he wants me to consider Beekman Winthrop for Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which

is agreeable to me. He tells me Hale said to him that a resolution would be introduced, if I were appointed Secretary of the Navy, investigating my relations with the Fore River Engine Co. I told him that I never owned a share or bond in my life.

"February 18. — Sent a cable of condolence to the Grand Duchess Vladimir on the death of the Grand Duke.

"Last reception of President Roosevelt at the White House, given for the Army and Navy — very brilliant affair. Supper lasted later than usual, did not get home until 1 o'clock. At my table Mrs. Straus, Mrs. Grant (born Root), Mrs. Williams, Douglas Robinson, Mr. Stickney, and Nicholas Longworth. I could not help realizing with a feeling of sadness that this was the last function of the President's term in the White House. His achievements will be fully appreciated later on, when the nation realizes his courageous attitude against certain financial powers, which had corrupted business standards until they felt that with their money they were more powerful than the Government, and could do what they might want to do.

"February 19. — Cabinet meeting. We were all photographed by a flashlight before the meeting. The President took up the action of Congress in recommending that half the fleet should be stationed in the Pacific and the other half in the Atlantic. Was most emphatic in his views, that, while there was any chance of having trouble with Japan, either the entire fleet should be in the Atlantic or in the Pacific. If one

half were there, Japan would have the opportunity of crippling us by destroying it before war is declared, as she did with Russia. Until we can have a sufficiently strong fleet for all purposes in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, our men-of-war are safer on the Atlantic side.

"March 1. — President gives a lunch to his 'Tennis Cabinet' and some of his hunting friends at the White House.

"A most unique and clever afternoon tea given by Mrs. Garfield to the President, Mrs. Roosevelt, and the Tennis Cabinet. A miniature tennis court on the table, with Teddy bears playing tennis. Booker Washington and a Teddy bear having tea together at a little table. Secret service men running around the table with lanterns [?], etc., all very clever.

"Those present were the Jusserands, Bacons, Pinchots, Winthrops, Knox, Smith, and Alice and myself. Jusserand made a speech of presentation of a large silver bowl, by which we were all nearly moved to tears. I thought Mrs. Garfield would break down. Some one asked what should he do with it. I suggested 'not wash his hands of us,' which relieved the situation.

"March 2. — Final Cabinet meeting. Mr. Roosevelt said, 'Before we take up any business, as this is our last meeting, I want to say to you that no President ever received more loyal support from his official family than I have received. The work that you have done I have received the credit for, which is the same in the Army — credit must go to the general in com-

mand. The only reward you receive is having the knowledge of doing your work well. I refuse to allow you to reply;' but Garfield said, 'Whatever we have done has been inspired by your example.'

"Before the Cabinet meeting the President called me to his desk and said, 'George, it has been a great comfort having you in the Cabinet, and we have had a good time. It has also been real pleasure to Mrs. Roosevelt seeing so much of your wife.'"

On the following day Mr. and Mrs. Meyer lunched at the White House, and the official relations, with which so much of true friendship had been mingled, came to an end. The happy and arduous two years had conspicuously proved Meyer's capacity for valuable administrative work. He had gained, moreover, an intimate knowledge of the workings of the national government. With this and his previous acquisitions he stood uncommonly qualified to serve his country in the new labours on which he was about to enter.

VI

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

(1909-1913)

IF Meyer brought to his new task a valuable equipment of capacity and experience, it is no less true that the Navy Department, at the beginning of the Taft administration, stood sorely in need of the most intelligent and devoted leadership that could be found for it. In the seven years of President Roosevelt's administration there had been six Secretaries of the Navy. No matter how able each and all of these Cabinet members may have been, no one of them held his post long enough either to acquire a grasp of its many and difficult problems, or to work out completely his own ideas, of whatever merit, for the improvement of the Navy. Every Secretary, moreover, must accomplish the larger ends he has in view — since appropriations are indispensable — through the agency of Congress; and it is easy to understand that the House and Senate Committees on Naval Affairs may well have grown weary and confused by so rapid a succession of Secretaries, each, despite the fact that he represented a single President with a definite and vigorous naval policy of his own, with an individual method of putting it into effect. Only a few weeks before Meyer's assumption

of the post, for example, his immediate predecessor, Mr. Truman H. Newberry, had issued an order radically affecting the conduct of navy yards and the relations between staff and line officers. The order occasioned great dissatisfaction in many quarters. How to deal with the situation it created was but one of many large and pressing problems with which Meyer found himself immediately confronted. The broad policies of naval administration involved a scale and range of thinking, in terms both national and international, which the Post Office, in the very nature of things, could not impose. Here, then, was a task, for a man prepared to devote himself completely to it for the term of four years, calling for the very best he had to give, not only through the mastery of infinite detail but in the framing of far-reaching plans of vital concern to the nation and the world.

In the course of the year 1909 Meyer's entries in the diary from which so many of the foregoing pages have been drawn became less regular, and before the end of the year they ceased. From this time forth there must accordingly be less of personal, intimate record than during any of his previous periods of national service. It is surprising enough that in the crowded life Meyer had led since going to Italy as Ambassador, he had commanded the time to make so full a chronicle of his daily experience. It is not surprising that the pressure of his work in the Navy Department, together with the unflagging continuance of his participation in the life of society, brought his practice of diary-keeping to an end. Yet for approxi-

mately the first half year there are entries which should be included in this book. During the months in which they were written Meyer was following a course similar to that pursued through the first part of his postal administration — namely, learning the job. With few interruptions, therefore, the more illuminating passages from his diary, with a few letters, shall be given at once. Not far from the time when the last of them was written his plans for the Department were well formulated. Their precise nature, and the results of their application, will be considered when these passages from the diary shall have been read.

“*March 4, 1909.* — A fearful blizzard snow-storm, trains are arriving hours late. Some of the troops have not arrived at all.

“President and President-elect received, in the White House, Vice-President and Vice-President-elect and the Cabinet of President Roosevelt. At a little after 10 A.M., President Roosevelt and President-elect Taft drove off from the White House in an open landau with four horses, followed by the Vice-Presidents and the Cabinet. Arriving at the Capitol about 11 A.M., we all assembled in the President's Room, where President Roosevelt signed bills until ten minutes before twelve, consulting his individual Cabinet officers as to the bills which affected their departments. The Cabinet then took their seats in the Senate on one side of the Chamber, adjoining the Diplomatic Corps. The members of the Supreme Bench were in seats opposite the Diplomatic Corps. The galleries were full of ladies, Mrs. Taft in the front

row, and Alice a few seats from her in the same row. The Vice-President was then announced and given the oath of office by the out-going Vice-President (Fairbanks). Then President-elect Taft was led to the chair by Senator Lodge, and the oath administered by Chief Justice Fuller, who is so old that he did not quote a part of the oath correctly.

"The President (Taft) then read his inaugural in the Senate Chamber instead of [on] the Capitol steps, on account of the blizzard storm. It lasted three-quarters of an hour. It was rather trying for Theodore Roosevelt to sit in the chair in front of the President's desk, facing all the Senators during the reading. As soon as it was completed, T. R. went up to Mr. Taft and congratulated him, and then went out the side door followed by his Cabinet. From the Capitol he drove to the station, escorted by a delegation of 1000 men that had come on from New York for that purpose. In the President's room Roosevelt received his friends and bade them farewell, to the great sorrow of all of us.

"To my surprise Alice never appeared at the station until 2.30, and then I found she had been unable to find the auto and she and Secretary Wright had walked from the Capitol to the Union Station in all the snow and mud in order to be able to say good-bye to Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt. We arrived at the White House in time to get a little lunch and then go out on the Presidential stand where the President was reviewing the procession. The best showing was made by the West Point Cadets; the Naval Cadets never

reaching Washington on account of the storm. After Governor Draper of Massachusetts, with an escort of 3000 troops, passed by, Cabot Lodge and I walked home to his house, where we had tea with Mrs. Lodge and Dr. Bigelow, and also had a heart-to-heart talk about the President that was leaving Washington behind him, the hole that it made, and the changed atmosphere as far as we were concerned.

"In the evening the girls, Alice, and I attended the Inauguration Ball at the Pension Building. I was very agreeably disappointed, and it was quite an interesting sight. We were leaving at 10 o'clock when Captain Butt¹ informed us that we were expected at the President's table at supper. There were six tables in all; at President Taft's, Mrs. Taft, Charley Taft, Vice-President Sherman, Mrs. Sherman, Mrs. Bacon, Miss Boardman, and myself. We got home before twelve.

"*March 6.* — The Cabinet, with the exception of MacVeagh² and Dickinson,³ take the oath of office in the presence of the President at the White House, the oath administered by Chief Justice Fuller.

"*March 9.* — First Cabinet Meeting. All present but Dickinson. Secretary Wright continued to fill his place.

"It seemed like a dream at first, with Taft in Roosevelt's chair, with Knox⁴ on his right and MacVeagh on his left. There was quite a judicial air to the whole

¹ Captain Archibald W. Butt, U. S. A., military aide to President Taft; drowned on the *Titanic* in 1912.

² Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury.

³ Jacob M. Dickinson, Secretary of War.

⁴ Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State.



Rabeauing
Follmer

Blair

W. H. Taft

James Wilson

Franklin Maclellan

Charles Nagel

Donnerstag

Frank M. McLean

Charles D. Norton

White House Party

September 26th to 29th 1910

meeting. I was favourably impressed with Wickersham as Attorney General. He expresses an opinion in a concise and emphatic manner.

"*March 10.* — Have asked an opinion of the Attorney General as to the constitutionality of Congress having instructed that eight per cent of the complement on men-of-war vessels shall be marines.

"Went to ride with Lodge, and then called on the President by appointment at 7.15. He came down to the Red Room in evening dress (with smoking coat). Seemed in good spirits; is rather concerned about his expenses, since Congress cut off his travelling fund. He told me, if they do not restore it, that he will practically do none.

"Went over the marine matter; he advises doing as Congress instructed until the Attorney General gives an opinion.

"*March 12.* — Cabinet Meeting. We discussed the troubles in Central America. The Navy Department has placed its vessels on each coast at the only sea-ports in such a way as to prevent Nicaragua from attacking San Salvador. Our Navy is much respected in South America since the voyage of the fleet.

"The question of Speakership and what the insurgents combining with the Democrats will be able to accomplish. It is very close, but the administration having taken a hand, Cannon will be reëlected. What action will be taken as to this cannot be known until after Congress assembles.

"*March 16.* — At Cabinet meeting to-day the Secretary of State read a paper which defined our policy

in Central America in the future — all action to be in conjunction with Mexico. It ensures the neutrality of Honduras and contemplates establishing its credit by their suggesting that we put in a financial agent such as we furnished to San Domingo.

“Much tact and diplomacy has got to be exercised in order to accomplish results and prevent armed interference on our part. President Taft endorsed the Secretary Knox action, and said he would even make a show of force in order to maintain peace and stop revolutions.

“*March 20.* — Went down to Oyster Bay to lunch with Ex-President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt. Lovely day, so I walked from the station to Sagamore Hill. Took me just an hour.

“Theodore came to the door himself and greeted me. ‘Well, this is nice of you, I am perfectly delighted to see you.’ Mrs. Roosevelt was sitting in the study and was as charming as ever. She is showing a great deal of courage over the President’s departure within a few days. They laughed over Alice and Secretary Wright walking down to the station Inauguration Day, and remarked how nice it was of her.

“At lunch all the family were present with the exception of Alice Longworth. We all made it a point to be gay, Mr. Roosevelt saying that he had been so busy that he had not missed the Presidentship a single moment. After lunch we adjourned to the big library. The President’s chair, which he had used in Cabinet, arrived. There was an amusing discussion as to where it should be placed in the room. After that the beau-

tiful Turkish rug which had been presented by the Sultan of Turkey was considered, as to whether it should be cut or not. Mrs. Roosevelt thought she should be allowed to do as she liked, while young Teddy, who is in the Hartford Carpet Co., looked at it as injuring its commercial value. At three I said good-bye to the President, wished him good health and good sport, and walked backed to the station, arriving in New York at 6 P.M.

"*March 30.* — Cabinet Meeting. All present but Nagel.¹ Decide to send two fast cruisers to meet the S.S. Guadaloupe at Trinidad, with Castro on board, in order to watch his movements and morally to support the present government of Venezuela.

"Secretary of War speaks of the trial by jury of negroes in Tennessee. They asked to have coloured juries, but it was found later that they were always convicted. When asked the foreman [said], 'We know the rascals they bring before [us], and the white folks thought that we were going to whitewash our own people, so we always convict them.' The coloured asked to be tried by white jurors.

"*March 31.* — Harvard dinner given to President Eliot at the Raleigh; about 250 present. I sat on the left of President Eliot. President Taft, Root, Lodge, and others. Eliot made a speech of half an hour, wonderful diction, never repeats or hesitates. Speaks of what Harvard has done, and how she has done it, through groups of men working in harmony.

"Root made one of the best speeches that I have

¹ Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labour.

heard him make, and ended by referring to Eliot as a man, a gentleman, equal to filling any position in any court of any Emperor or King, to which the President may choose to call him.

“This rather forced President Taft’s hand, who ended his speech by endorsing what Root had said about Eliot.”

The diary may here be interrupted by a reference to another Harvard dinner, at which Meyer was one of the speakers. In 1909 President Eliot was succeeded at Harvard University by President Lowell. At a dinner in his honour at the Harvard Club of New York City, Meyer set forth the value of college training, and used the following words, strongly autobiographic in their suggestions:—

Then comes the power to judge and control men, the aspect of the executive, which is perhaps the most important of all—the ability to choose capable and trustworthy assistants as lieutenants and advisers. No executive officer, in business or in government, can even attempt to attend to everything himself. It is, in fact, the very essence of a good executive that he should know how to delegate certain powers and so to arrange his work that his time may be given to the larger projects and the more important policies. It is ridiculous to suppose that the college man can plunge into the world and immediately begin to exercise executive functions. My contention is, however, that the training which a man receives at college makes him far better fitted for utilizing his first experiences in practical life, preparing him all the more quickly to be a leader of men, either in a great or a small way. His life



AT THE HARVARD COMMENCEMENT OF 1911, WHEN MR. MEYER
RECEIVED THE DEGREE OF LL.D.

From left to right: Secretary Meyer; his classmate, Professor F. W. Taussig;
President Eliot; Bishop Lawrence

in college has fitted him with a mental grasp — has given him the tools, so to speak, with which to attack the job of life. It is his own fault if he misuses those implements, for the world to-day is more filled with opportunities than it ever was.

To this should be added, for what it signifies, a single sentence from a letter written by Meyer to a business associate only a few weeks after his first coming to Washington: "The longer I live, the more I realize that frequently the turning-point in business or life is the ability to seize the opportunity."

To return to extracts from the diary: —

"*April 4.* — Take a long ride with Lodge in the afternoon. He says Hay was given the Grand Cordon Legion of Honour by France, and the Senate refused to grant him leave to accept it. Hay was furious and never got over his resentment.

"*April 7.* — The Attorney General, Wickersham, gives a dinner to Mr. Choate. He has grown very stout, his waistcoat has become very well padded, the result of all the dinners in England. He evidently still has some feeling against President Roosevelt, who recalled him and appointed Reid.

"During dinner Jusserand was talking about what a wonderful worker Roosevelt was, and how he could write upon several subjects the same morning, and Choate asked if President Roosevelt could write poetry.

"*April 8.* — The President sent word for [me] to come to the White House first thing. I found a crowd waiting in the outer rooms. Inside were Lodge

and Secretary of the Treasury MacVeagh. We talked about the tariff, the prospect of free hides and lumber.

"The President wants an inheritance tax. Lodge said the states were against it and favoured tax on checks and on proprietary medicines.

"*April 9.* — Cabinet meeting. Knox jokes about the President's speech that he is to make to the new Cuban minister. Taft recalls the address that some years ago he was to make to the Pope on his arrival at the Vatican: 'Payne,¹ who was Postmaster General and rather Presbyterian in his tastes, objected to the expressions and the flowery style. President Roosevelt looked up and quickly said, "I might say, How are you, Mr. Pope? I knew your father the Pope."' "

"The tariff bill passes the House.

"*April 30.* — Wickersham, the Attorney General, goes to New York, and in a public speech defines the administration policy as to trusts, R.R. magnates, etc. He said among other things that there could be no longer any excuse of any one by pleading ignorance of the 'Sherman act'; that obedience to the laws would ensure people from being sued. There had been in the past some cases that were taken up without sufficient evidence, too hurriedly, and those would be dropped. Where there was a case they would be continued.

"*May 1.* — Had a long talk with Admiral Sperry about the consolidation in Navy Yards. Newberry started the matter without giving sufficient thought to details, and effect it would have on ordnance equip-

¹ Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin.

ment and steam engineering. The result now has been that the efficient men in those branches of the Navy Yards are inspectors without power. Everything has been thrown into the bureau of construction and repairs and the line officers put into the background. I can see that sooner or later I shall have a struggle with Senator Hale¹ on this whole subject, who is against the fleet and the line officers.

“*May 28.* — President goes to Pittsburg this evening and then on to Gettysburg. Had a talk with him this afternoon before he started, and urged upon him the importance of not attempting to do too much; that he owed it to the country and to himself. He promises to let up.

“*June 1.* — Cabinet Meeting. The President returns from Pittsburg, etc. Describes his trip, which he evidently enjoyed. Tells the story of the tenderfoot out West who went into a bar where they were playing cards and saw some cheating at cards, nudged his neighbour and said, ‘Do you see the dealer give himself four aces?’ ‘Well,’ was the reply, ‘he’s dealing, isn’t he?’

“Knox read a letter from an American friend living in England which describes the English hysteria over Germany at the present time. The friend seems to have caught it, because he then went on to say that we have only Germany to fear, and must keep up our Navy, as she was liable to come out some time and possibly attack us, as she had a ready-made army of

¹ Eugene Hale, of Maine, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs.

German emigrants in North and South America. All of which is absurd, and Taft felt the same way about it — that all the Germans that he had met in different parts of the world preferred to do business out of their own colonies rather than in them, as they could make more money. In fact, they were underselling the English merchants everywhere.

“*June 3.* — Call on the President in order to show my plan this summer and autumn for withdrawing the retired officers from active service in the Navy and filling their places with younger men from the active list. Also explain in the rough the manner in which I propose to work out the reorganization of Navy Yards in conjunction with the bureaus in Washington.

“*June 8.* — Cabinet Meeting. MacVeagh absent in Chicago. Made a speech — referred to the Tariff; said we should have a downward revision, but ‘not down and out.’ It has been taken up a good deal in the press, and the Senator from Michigan said he was not going to be told how he should vote by one of the Democratic members of the Cabinet — MacVeagh having been a Cleveland Democrat.

“*June 15.* — At Cabinet meeting to-day the President asked each one of us for our opinion as to the advisability of his sending in a special message to Congress [recommending] a tax not to exceed two per cent on the net income of corporations. It was the unanimous opinion that it was the psychological moment to do so; that it would defeat the income tax of the Democrats who have made a combine with Cummins of Iowa and a few others, and would be

the first step in government supervision of corporations.

"The President stated that it would be most unfortunate for the prestige of the Court (Supreme) to have at this time to settle against the constitutionality of the income tax. Therefore an amendment should be submitted to all the states.

"*June 18.* — Cabinet. Before the meeting I chaffed the President that, notwithstanding the fact that he had a special meeting of the members of his Cabinet, including the Attorney General with the addition of Senator Root, not one of them knew or remembered that the income tax law had lapsed.

"We discussed the corporation tax and believed it would be accepted by Congress and would result in a revenue of about \$50,000,000. It would be well taken by the public, and eventually advantageous to corporations, for the reason that, having government supervision, it would be reassuring for investors and encourage foreigners to invest.

"*June 30.* — Commencement Day at Harvard. President Abbott Lawrence Lowell, the new President, presides at Sanders Theatre, and Eliot receives degrees of LL.D. and M.D. — the latter rather far-fetched — and is made President Emeritus. I attend the exercises at Sanders Theatre for the first time since I graduated thirty years ago! I find a great change. The students who receive degrees wear gowns and the professors as well, with colours of different degrees, the signification of which I do not understand. Attend the spread of the Chief Marshal at University. Con-

gratulate President Lowell and later take the 3 P.M. train for New London, arriving at 6.30. Find the Dolphin's launch waiting for us at the wharf.

"*July 5.* — Took the family out in the Dolphin launch and visited the battleship Minnesota lying off Marblehead. Captain Sims of gun-practice fame took me over the ship. I had an interesting talk with him regarding a board of military experts who shall act as critics of naval designs. He strongly favours it, and I believe it would be advantageous to appoint one. As I left they gave the customary salute of seventeen guns.

"*July 8.* — At last the tariff bill passes the Senate. I went up to the Capitol after dinner, found the Senators sweltering in the heat, several of them sitting smoking in a room that leads directly from the back of the Senate Chamber. The air was suffocating and, as there were no windows, lacked ventilation. Senator Carter of Montana was lying on a sofa and complained of a headache, when I asked him how he was. I suggested it could not improve as long as he stayed in such a badly ventilated room. He answered, 'I guess you are right,' got up, and went out. I begged Lodge to come out with me on the terrace, which we found delightful and really grand, looking over the city with its flickering lights and the dim outline of the Washington Monument shaft on the banks of the Potomac. Senator — came out for inspiration, walked up and down in a theatrical manner, impatiently waiting for — to finish his harangue to an indifferent and unlistening Senate. I left unimpressed by the debaters

and assured that it would [end] that evening, to the relief of the country."

At about this time Meyer received his first letter from Colonel Roosevelt in Africa. It was dated May 17, and a portion of Meyer's reply to it will tell more than his journal has related of the joy he was taking in his new work and the foundations he was laying to make it effective.

To Theodore Roosevelt

July 9, 1909.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT, —

I cannot tell you how pleased I was to get your letter and to receive word direct from you that you had had really first-class sport. According to the newspapers, it must have been extraordinary, and consequently, I was not sure whether it had been exaggerated or not. Think of getting six lions and two rhinos, etc., etc! It makes my wolf look sick.

I took Nick and Alice down on the Dolphin from Jersey City to say good-bye to Mrs. Roosevelt, and expected to pass Saturday there before she sailed; but I had been fighting an attack of influenza in Washington for a week, and, when we anchored at Oyster Bay, I did not go ashore, as I felt pretty slim. In the middle of the night I was taken down with a severe attack of bronchitis and lost my voice. It was pretty trying to be unable to go ashore. Mrs. Meyer and my daughters arrived in New York Monday night, so on Tuesday we stopped at Oyster Bay on our way to Gloucester, in order that my wife might see Mrs. Roosevelt; but luck was against us, as she was out.

You are quite right when you say you are sure I am enjoying my present position. It is the most interesting work I ever had in my life and the officers are a fine set of men.

I have been looking into the organization of all ship-yards, and find that, without exception, all the successful commercial ship-yards have been organized with a hull division and a machinery division. Newberry's attempt was to have one manufacturing department in navy yards, which combined hull and machinery, and placed everything under the constructor. It has created great dissatisfaction, and the result was that the engineers were designing and not executing; consequently, they were not finding out their own errors and profiting by the experience, and it meant, in the end, the deterioration of the engineer, which would be disastrous to the fleet. Therefore, I have amended his regulations so that the engineer has control of the machine shops for steam engineering, etc. I am also satisfied that we cannot reorganize ship-yard administration in navy yards without taking up the question of rearrangement and reorganization of bureaus at the same time, and that will be a matter of research throughout the summer. I am also seriously considering having a Board as critics of the military efficiency of designs, and who shall be able to give their undivided attention to the subject and make also a thorough research into the errors, as well as the improvements, that have been made in other countries as to battle-ships, etc.

I realize the important feature is the efficiency of the fleet — that we must have our navy yards and our fleets in actual readiness for any emergency, and that this is as important as it is for a fire-engine to be prepared to quell a fire at a moment's notice.

Taft has come out for a two-per cent excess tax on the net incomes of the corporations, and it has been adopted by the Senate, which will mean a step towards government supervision of all corporations. It is entertaining to hear the comments and wails of some individuals who thought they were

going to get an entire change of policy, and that they would be let alone in the future. . . .

I am enclosing an article which is going the rounds concerning an address I made on the Navy in New England.

The fleet is now assembling and the idea is to practise manœuvring at speed, 15-17 knots, and gun practice under *unfavourable* conditions of weather, etc., and, perhaps, manœuvres at night.

My task in making up the estimates for 1911 was a difficult one. Mr. Taft had committed himself to a reduction of ten millions in the Navy and as much more in the Army. I went to work at it in a manner which I believed would bring about the least detriment to the Navy. First, I got together the bureau chiefs collectively and went over the estimates, and then took the chiefs individually; after that, I assembled all the commandants and went over the estimates with them as to navy yards, and later tackled them individually, with the result that I made a reduction of ten millions from the appropriations for the fiscal year 1910. When I related what I had done to Mr. Hale, he said: "It is not possible; the annual increase each year will eat up your reduction." However, on informing him that the cut was really twenty-four millions and that after that I had added fourteen millions in order to build the two battleships of the 26,000-ton type, a machine repair-ship which shall be able to keep up with the fleet, or the equivalent expense in destroyers, and 3,000 additional enlistments, he acknowledged that the result had been obtained. I thought this might interest you. You will be surprised when I tell you that on Mr. Hale's first call he suggested that I had an opportunity to save from five to ten millions by cutting down the size of battleships! It is needless to say that that was not done, and I have signed the specifications which call for the two 26,000-ton battleships of the most modern and approved

type. The bids will be called for probably on the 15th of August.

You would be surprised, possibly, at the tremendous interest which is being taken throughout the country in your trip and the satisfaction everywhere with the good sport that you are having.

With best wishes for continued good luck, believe me,

Always faithfully yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

Congratulations to Kermit.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,

Juja Farm,

Nairobi,

British East Africa.

Tariff bill passed by the Senate last night. Went to House this morning. Conference committees appointed. President got back from Lake Champlain this afternoon.

G. v. L. M.

[*Diary*]

"*July 10.* — Took Cabot Lodge out with me to Fort Myer, in order to see the Wrights fly in their aeroplane at 7 P.M. A very successful flight and most interesting. It is the beginning of a new mode of transportation and the aeroplane of the future, twenty-five years from now, will be as different from what we saw to-day as is the present transatlantic steamer from the Fulton steamer that first plied on the Hudson.¹

¹ A newspaper interview with Meyer in February, 1911, shows that even then the rapid development of aviation for war purposes was not at all foreseen. He was asked about the future of aeroplanes, and an-

"*July 13.* — First Cabinet meeting since the President's return from Champlain celebration. He looks well and it does not seem to have fatigued him. In fact I think he rather enjoyed the trip. The French Ambassador was also on this occasion one of the speakers at Champlain. There is considerable rivalry between the French and German Ambassador. They have both stayed late in Washington on account of the tariff. ✓

"*July 16.* — Cabinet meeting. Previous to the meeting, about twenty Congressmen stood in a circle about the President and endeavoured to commit him to the higher rates on lumber, paper, coal ores, and a duty on hides. They left realizing that they had not made any headway with the President. I could see that some of the remarks of the Congressmen irritated him not a little. But he ended up with his smile!

"*July 18 (Sunday).* — Pass the morning reviewing papers in connection with the Department. Wickersham and I lunch at my house and then go out to Chevy Chase and play fifteen holes of golf. The President would like to play, but does not on account of public sentiment. He rides on horse-back, which is not criticized — a fine distinction.

"*July 20.* — Cabinet meeting. Took up the entire morning in considering estimates for 1911. The

swered: "That they will be used as fighting machines is very doubtful. It has been suggested that they could drop explosives on war vessels and forts. There are some barbarities, however, that are even prohibited in war. Besides, Germany has a gun that pumps lead into the air as thick as rain, and an aeroplane could be shot to pieces before it got near enough to work any damage."

Evidently Germany foresaw the prohibited "barbarities."

first hour was spent, however, in Mr. Taft stating his position on the tariff and his attitude as to articles that should go on the free list. He favoured free hides, ore, and oil, reduced duties, especially on lumber and coal. Asked each member of the Cabinet his opinion. Knox surprised [me] by saying that he did not think he was sufficiently informed to give advice. The Attorney General (Wickersham), Hitchcock, and myself agreed that he should hold to the free articles which he had enumerated and give a little if necessary on the lumber and coal duties.

"July 22.—Representatives of various interests are in Washington looking to protection of their goods, etc., thus making it harder to get the Conference Committee to come to a conclusion. The tariff bill should not be a compromise, the result of pulling and hauling. We should have a tariff commission.

"July 23.—Cabinet meeting. All present but Ballinger.¹ We went over finally the various estimates and the Secretary of Treasury stated that they showed a saving of \$50,000,000 over the appropriations of 1910.

"The President showed less hopefulness about the tariff bill and the outcome of the Conference. He appeared for the first time put out and discouraged, and said that he would like to tell some of the members that they could go to hell. He is inclined to let them know that, unless they incorporate free hides, free oil, and free ore, he will not sign the bill.

"Told the President that I was going home for

¹ Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior.

Sunday. He hesitated a moment and then said, 'All right, old man.'

"*July 27.* — Cabinet meeting. I told the President after the meeting that the people I had met in New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts were with him on his tariff policy, and that they recognized the fact of Speaker Cannon's disloyalty in the way he had made up the Conference Committee on the part of the House; also his outrageous effort to raise the glove schedule and prevent the proper reductions. If he should give in, it would discredit [him] before the country and be a decided setback for his administration. He replied, 'I shall not give in, and if necessary will refuse to sign the bill and call another session in October.'

"*July 28.* — Mrs. Townsend gives a dinner to the President at the Country Club: Secretary MacVeagh, Wickersham, Aldrich, Root, the Longworths, the Huntington Wilsons, Winthrops, and Woodbury Blairs, Bob Bacon, Charley MacCawley, and Captain Butt. After dinner the President called Root and myself to sit beside him on the piazza. He then told us of his tribulations with the Conference Committee and what Cannon was trying to do for Littauer by raising rates on ladies' gloves in order to pay a political debt. Aldrich came up and asked if he could have a private talk with the President, as the Conference Committee had agreed on a report. I had already warned the President of an attempt to get him to compromise for a small duty on hides and increase on lumber.

“ July 29. — The President turns down the report of the Conference Committee on the Tariff. They had attempted to put him in a hole and he refused to go there, but stood firm on free hides and a low duty on ores and coal, with lumber at \$1.25 and not \$1.50.

“ July 30. — Was unable to attend the Cabinet meeting.

“ The President wins out! Senate and House members in Conference Committee give in on free hides and decided reductions on coal, ore, and lumber, with no increase on ladies' gloves.

“ This is a great victory for the President, and very important throughout the country, as feeling was running very strong.

“ The Wrights make their flight to Alexandria and back from Fort Myer, carrying a passenger and averaging a rate of 42 miles an hour in their aeroplane.

“ July 31. — Call on the President. Congratulate him on his tariff victory. Also regret that on account of illness was unable to play golf with him on Thursday at Chevy Chase.

“ As I have an attack of colitis, he advises me to go away at once in order to get a rest and change. The House is to vote on the bill this afternoon and it will then go to the Senate Monday at 10 o'clock.

“ On the motion to recommit it was only defeated by 5 votes. On the passage it was carried by 11 votes; not much of a margin, and if the President had not taken hold, it would undoubtedly have been recommitment.

“ It is felt that Taft lost the opportunity to use the

big stick on Congress which [T.R.?] would not have allowed to pass by.

"*August 21.* — Small Cabinet meeting, lasting from 3 until 7 P.M., held at Beverly in President Taft's summer house on Burgess Point.

"Take up the dispute between Pinchot and Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, concerning reservation of lands, the formation of the tariff commission, speeches to be made by the President.

"*September 5.* — Secretary Ballinger is to lay his side of the case before the President some time to-morrow. It looks to me as though Pinchot, in his zeal for reservation and irrigation, has gone further than the law warrants, and that Ballinger has proceeded according to the strict interpretation of the law. Besides, Pinchot forwarded charges of one Glavis against Ballinger without first thoroughly investigating. It looks to me as though Glavis was trying to cook up a case against Ballinger, and I do not believe that the President will put up with disloyalty of a subordinate against his chief (Ballinger). He, the President, intends to look to his Cabinet officers and hold them responsible."

After this entry the items in the diary are too few and unimportant for reproduction. It is unfortunate that further comments on the Ballinger case by a member of Mr. Taft's Cabinet are lacking, and, still more, for the sake of political history, that the diary had long been discontinued when in March of 1912 Theodore Roosevelt assumed the leadership of the "Pro-

gressive movement." Here especially such records of daily occurrences as Meyer had long been wont to keep would have possessed great interest and value. They might, however, have beguiled the reader from the central purpose of this chapter — which is, of course, to present the record of Meyer's administration of the Navy Department.

Among the voluminous papers, published and unpublished, bearing upon his conduct of that branch of the government is found a statement of "Salient Points in Secretary Meyer's Administration of the Navy Department from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1913." The facts which it brings together might be assembled from a great variety of other sources — annual reports, newspaper and magazine articles, correspondence and speeches, representing in their mass an extraordinary quantity of individual labour. It would, however, be idle to attempt another summary, so adequate and comprehensive, of Mr. Meyer's work as Secretary of the Navy. The "Salient Points" are as follows: —

1. After a very careful study and thorough investigation of business methods of successful commercial organizations, a complete reorganization of the Navy Department was put into effect by Mr. Meyer, on lines which resulted in greatly increased efficiency and in considerable reduction in cost. Under the old system, the numerous chiefs of bureaus each had to come to the Secretary to get his signature to papers requiring large expenditure of Government funds, and there had been no general supervision of such expenditures to bring about

efficiency and economy. Mr. Meyer organized a council of aids and divided the business of the Navy Department into four parts, each part being under the supervision of one of these aids. The aids were responsible advisers for the Secretary and kept him fully informed on all the affairs that came under their several departments.

2. The reorganization of the navy yards was then taken up on the principle that *the navy yards existed for the needs of the active fleet*, and that the fleet is not for the purpose of making work for the navy yards. Routine docking and repair periods were established; yard methods were improved; and the employment of a steady force of highly-trained and efficient mechanics and workmen was thereby secured. Mr. Meyer instituted quarterly conferences at Washington of the Commandants of all the navy yards, so that there might be uniformity of methods and elimination of inefficient conditions at each yard. He divided the industrial work in the yards in two departments, — Hull and Machinery, — placing a constructor in charge of the hull work and an experienced line officer in charge of the engineering work.

3. In order to increase the efficiency of the yards and to reduce the cost of work as far as possible, he went abroad to study the various methods of shop-management in operation at the big shipbuilding plants. After a thorough study, he introduced a modification of the Vickers' system, which has already begun to show increased efficiency with reduced cost.

4. The active fleet was reorganized and put on an efficient war basis. Seventeen battleships were maintained at all times in cruising condition at sea, the fleet being divided into four divisions of five vessels each (and an additional vessel for the flag-ship of the Commander-in-Chief), one ship of each division being at the yards for repairs.

5. He established reserve fleets on the Atlantic and

Pacific coasts. It had been the custom to place out of commission for repairs vessels of considerable military value, and Mr. Meyer found that this resulted in great deterioration and considerable expense for extensive repairs from time to time. He directed that these vessels should be maintained in a state of material readiness at all times, so that in time of war they would form the second line of defense. He mobilized the fleets on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Asiatic stations once each year, and by such mobilization demonstrated the efficiency of the vessels and also any deficiencies which required remedial action.

6. He advocated a continuous-building programme, with a minimum yearly construction of two battleships and the corresponding number of auxiliaries, in order to maintain a fleet adequate for the country's needs.

7. He urged the Council of National Defense, composed of Cabinet Officers, Congressmen, and officers of the Army and Navy, to outline a definite naval policy for the country.

8. The gunnery efficiency of the fleet increased remarkably under Mr. Meyer's direction. When he took office, the gunnery practices of the ships were held in smooth water, in closed harbours, and at very short ranges. At the end of his administration, the ships were firing at ranges of from six to nine miles in the open sea, under rough weather conditions and in battle formations.

9. During Mr. Meyer's administration, engineering competitions were introduced in the fleet. These resulted in great reduction in expenditure of coal and oil, and in greatly increased steaming radius of the fleet. They also developed a spirit of self-dependence in the vessels of the fleet, and they were encouraged to make their own repairs at sea, thereby making them practically independent of navy yards. The result was a very high state of engineering efficiency.

10. He established a system of inspections of ships, with

the result that useless repairs were discontinued and unserviceable ships were sold.

11. He established a central cost-accounting system at navy yards, which put the record of cost on a practical commercial basis.

12. A general storekeeping system was inaugurated on all vessels of the Navy, with a competition that resulted in large economies in the expenditure of stores.

13. He studied the subject of the number of navy yards necessary for the fleet, and found that a great deal of money was wasted on yards of no military value. He therefore abolished several yards whose yearly maintenance cost was over a million and a half dollars, and advocated, for war efficiency, the consolidation of certain other yards.

14. Mr. Meyer advocated the extensive use of wireless for all Government work, and also gave every encouragement to the development of aircraft and submarines.

15. He enlarged the dry docks at the various navy yards to meet the requirements of future years.

16. He gave special attention to the commissioned and enlisted personnel, and issued instructions that were destined to promote their efficiency and contentment.

17. He established a course of instruction at the Naval War College, and also a post-graduate school at the Naval Academy for officers. For enlisted men, he established high-grade schools for their mechanical instruction in many places on both coasts.

18. He gave particular attention to the comfort and education of the enlisted men on board ship, and succeeded in making them happy and contented.

19. He believed that the punishments in the Navy had been too severe, and he endeavoured, particularly in the case of young men and first offenders, to give them another chance.

With this end in view, he established disciplinary barracks to which men were sent instead of to prison. The prison stripes were done away with and the men were encouraged to study and were taught useful trades. The results were entirely successful, and a large proportion of the men were returned to the service in good standing instead of being permitted to degenerate into hardened criminals.

20. He advocated and secured a naval reserve, a medical reserve corps, a dental corps, and a dental reserve corps.

21. During the last year of his administration, while at the annual mobilization at New York, the President of the United States made the following comment:—

“FLEET PREPARED FOR BATTLE

“I cannot forbear to congratulate the Secretary of the Navy and the officers and men of the fleet on the magnificent appearance which, in this grand review of these two days, the fleet presents. I am sufficiently advised of the preparedness of the vessels to know that, when they pass me to-morrow in front of the Statue of Liberty, they would be ready to meet an enemy outside of Sandy Hook, both those vessels on the active list and those on the reserve, with their guns shotted and ammunition enough in store to do effective battle for their country.

“The Secretary of the Navy has consistently laboured to bring about a system of control in the Navy Department which shall be military rather than civil, and directed to fighting rather than merely to manufacture and industrial work. A navy is for fighting, and if its management is not efficiently directed to that end the people of this country have a right to complain. The institution of naval aids to the Secretary, resembling in some respects the General Staff of the Army, has brought about a condition adapted to a quick preparation of



PRESIDENT TAFT AND SECRETARY MEYER AT NAVAL REVIEW, NEW YORK HARBOUR
Captain A. W. Butt at Secretary Meyer's right.

fighting units and a quick mobilization of squadrons and fleets that never has been possible before in the history of that department.

"It is true that there are needed more auxiliary vessels than we now have, were we to enter upon a war of large proportions; but it is satisfactory to know that the time in which such auxiliary vessels could be prepared is not prohibitive, and is much less than would be needed to add battleships. I sincerely hope that whatever party comes into power the policy of two battleships a year will be continued until, through the Panama Canal and otherwise, the needs of the Pacific coast for its defence shall be satisfied and our people whose states abut on that great ocean may feel that they, too, are receiving the benefit of the sums expended from the National Treasury for adequate naval defense."

This summary of accomplishment should be followed by a series of brief statements, made by Mr. Meyer himself, setting forth the general principles which his specific changes in the administration of the Navy were designed to embody:—

The Fleet is the Navy.

In war nothing fails like failure.

In order to have success we must have efficiency.

To have efficiency we must have a definite policy.

To bring about a definite policy we have to have coöperation and coördination.

To bring about this coöperation we have to have an intelligent understanding.

The Monroe Doctrine is no stronger than the Navy; the Navy is no stronger than the Fleet; and the Fleet is the Navy.

The Navy Yards exist on account of, and for, the Fleet.

The value of the objects, both general and specific, sought and in large measure attained by Mr. Meyer need not be argued. But important changes in so complex an organization as the Navy Department cannot be wrought without opposition. Meyer encountered his full share of this — especially from Congressional committees, after the elections of 1910 deprived the Republican party of the entire control of the Government, and from staff officers of the Navy whose powers were curtailed by the adoption of a new policy. It would be superfluous here to recount the details of this opposition, as it would also be to study minutely the score of “salient points” which have been enumerated. A few of them, however, call for something more than a mere statement of their essence. Among the chief of these were the reorganization of the Navy Yards, the improved methods of cost-accounting, and the change in the bureau system which took as long a step in the direction of a General Staff for the Navy as existing legislation permitted.

It should be said first of all that, except for a few matters on which immediate decisions were imperative, Meyer instituted his new methods in the Department only after months of deliberation and study. He knew the value of sound advice, and promptly sought it. His own attitude toward the need of it was well defined in his first Annual Report, dated December 4, 1909: —

In the past seven years there have been six Secretaries of the Navy. How may the Secretary, lacking expert knowledge

in the various duties, but with full authority and responsibility for the complete conduct of the Department, adequately direct all the varied operations? It would seem proper that he should be provided with responsible and experienced expert advisers, on whom he may rely, but who shall not in any way be able to assume any of his authority.

The general principles of responsible advice are reasonably clear. The facility of obtaining advice is in the exact ratio of its irresponsibility, whereas duly responsible and satisfactory advice is most difficult to obtain. Advice on all subjects may be had for the asking; but, as a rule, it would not be advice that it would be wise to follow. Its authors are not responsible.

For advice that he could follow Meyer turned at once to responsible advisers; he not only made a careful study of the reports and recommendations of previous Secretaries and special boards of inquiry, but appointed such boards himself, especially the "Swift Board," to consider possible improvements in the organization of the Navy, and took counsel of the Attorney-General with regard to changes that might be introduced without asking Congress for new legislation. This practical approach to the problems before him was followed by their solution through the issuance of obviously practical orders. The whole object of these orders was to remove a condition which one of his recent predecessors had defined as that of "power without knowledge in one place and knowledge without power in another place."

The changes in the conduct of the Navy Yards introduced by Secretary Newberry at the very end of

the Roosevelt administration had exalted the influence of staff officers — construction and engineer — and diminished that of the line officers, the men under whom fighting ships must go into battle. Meyer had not observed the Russo-Japanese war in vain. The Russian Navy had afforded a tragic example of the results of staff, or shore, domination; the Japanese Navy precisely the opposite, both in its superiority and in the cause thereof. Meyer accordingly determined to make the Navy Yards quite secondary in importance to the fleet, as a potential instrument of war, and wholly contributory to its welfare. He divided the work of the Yards into its two natural branches of "Hull" and "Machinery," assigned this work to specially trained experts, but gave to the line officers, constantly practised in handling their vessels at sea, a new responsibility for their structural and mechanical up-keep both before and after repairs were needed. The ship afloat and ready for the most effective action became, as it should be, the object of prime consideration. The Yards themselves had the benefit of the special supervision of Mr. Beekman Winthrop, Assistant Secretary of the Navy throughout Mr. Meyer's administration of the Department.

As a man of business Mr. Meyer soon discovered that the method of cost-accounting pursued in the Navy especially in the Yards, left much to be desired. The Navy was, in one of its aspects, a vast industrial enterprise, to which the best methods of modern business could be applied with great advantage. Chartered accountants of large experience were accordingly en-

gaged to make a thorough investigation of this important subject, — first at the Boston Navy Yard, — with the result that the system introduced there was extended, with large consequent economies, throughout the Navy.

These measures of management and book-keeping, like many other of the methods of administration introduced by Mr. Meyer, had to do with outward organization of the Department, the accomplishment of its daily business. There was always a larger matter to be considered, the matter of general naval policy. The words about responsible advice which have been quoted suggest with sufficient clearness that Meyer, as a civilian, was not so confident of his own opinion when he became Secretary of the Navy as to rely upon it unaided by expert knowledge. The machinery for commanding this help was anything but adequate. Boards of inquiry could be appointed from time to time, as they had been and continued to be, but there was no established provision for keeping the Secretary of the Navy in constant touch with the best thought in the Department. Since 1842 the general work of the Department had been conducted by the bureaus, which had grown from five to eight in number. The bureau chiefs lacked ultimate authority, and their duties frequently overlapped. The imperfect working of the system under pressure was revealed by the fact that in the Civil War it was necessary to give an Assistant Secretary the management of an "Operating Division," and in the war with Spain to create the "Strategy Board." The general looseness of organi-

zation was entirely foreign to Meyer's administrative standards. He accordingly divided the work of the Navy into its four essential parts of Operations, Personnel, Material, and Inspections, and appointed a specially qualified flag officer as aid for each of these Divisions. A personal aid for his own office was also created. The bureaus were not abolished. All their work, however, was found to fall under the headings of Personnel and Material; and its more adequate performance was ensured through its direction by the head of the Department, acting on the expert advice of an officer not involved in the daily routine of the bureau. In the Division of Inspections a desirable change was effected through transferring the act of inspection from officials who had themselves been responsible for the work under scrutiny to others not thus responsible.

Under Mr. Meyer's conception of the Navy, as an immediately potential instrument of war, the Aid for Operations, whose particular subject of study was the disposition and exercise of the fleet, held a post of special importance. All four of the aids were established in close proximity to the Secretary's office, so that daily consultations were easily possible. They held a meeting at least once a week with the Secretary. This new order of things, not requiring special legislation, yet creating something very like a General Staff for the Navy, was set up in December of 1909. Early in 1910 Congress definitely authorized a year's trial of the arrangement. Besides the weekly meetings of the aids, there was a monthly meeting of the bureau

chiefs and the aids with the Secretary. The yard commandants of each coast were assembled for quarterly consultation. Once a year all the commandants met with the Aid for Material and the Director of the Navy Yards, in Washington. The total result of the new provisions was a system of marked efficiency, highly approved by the Navy itself, and bearing notable fruits in its condition.

In January, 1910, the *Engineering Magazine* published an article, "Sanity in Naval Organization," which ended with the following paragraph:—

It was hoped and believed that, with the advent of a President who had been trained as a judge, the spirit emanating from the Chief of the Administration would actuate his cabinet officers, and matters of serious moment would be given careful study and adequate consideration, before action was taken involving such serious matters as the organization of a great Department. This anticipation has not been disappointed, and the United States is to be congratulated on the direction of the Navy Department by such a chief as Secretary Meyer, whose actions thus far have shown a splendid grasp of the situation and executive ability of a very high order. If his future conduct of the office should be along the lines which have been followed thus far,—and we sincerely hope that this will be the case,—we predict that his name will go down as that of one of the great Secretaries and great administrators in the history of the United States Navy.

When Mr. Meyer went out of office in 1913, nobody imagined that the Navy would have so early an opportunity to prove its mettle in the most crucial

of tests. Between 1913 and 1917 many friends of the Navy deplored changes in its organization which appeared to do away with important elements of his work. At this moment there is not the slightest occasion to raise points of controversy. The issue of the American participation in the war by sea, left, in the good naval phrase, "glory enough to go round." But Meyer should now receive his share of it, for the most competent naval opinion is strongly to the effect that the Division of Operations, the direct outgrowth of the office of Aid for Operations, — the aid who in the nature of things was expected to fulfil functions of commanding importance in time of war, — was an agency of supreme value in the recent conflict. For this it is but just to bear in mind with special gratitude the distinctive contribution of Mr. Meyer to the efficacy of the Navy in its hour of opportunity. If the system of aids did not last long enough to accomplish its full purpose, and did not receive the final legislative sanction by which Mr. Meyer hoped to see its personal responsibilities strengthened, his greater utilization of the line officers of the Navy stands as a permanent gain. With this achievement in mind Admiral Sims¹ has recently written in a letter from which it is permitted to quote:—

I admired him very much and believe that his administration of the Navy Department was of lasting benefit to the

¹ The interest of Admiral Sims's testimony is not diminished by the fact that it fell to Meyer, as Secretary of the Navy, in January, 1911, to issue the General Order containing President Taft's public reprimand to Commander Sims, as he then was, for having declared in a speech in London that "if the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, it is my opinion that you may count upon

service. . . . Mr. Meyer's great service to the Navy was that he placed the control of the Navy, and particularly the control of the design of all of our vessels, in the hands of line officers. Before his time, this design was in the hands of a combined board of line and staff officers, and was necessarily dominated to a large extent by the Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair — this because the other members of the board were intensely occupied men who could not give the necessary study and attention to the subject.

Determination of the military characteristics of the designs of all our vessels is now in the hands of the General Board, which is a body of officers that, for this purpose, is composed entirely of line officers. They make a continuous study of the designs of ships; and since this reform was made, we have designed ships which are at least the equal, and probably the superior, of any of those in the world.

In the previous chapter reference was made to Meyer's selection of competent men for work to be done under his direction, to his habit of trusting them and holding them responsible, and to the consequent enthusiasm of his assistants in their several tasks. This was precisely as true in his administration of the Navy as of the Post-Office Department. He thoroughly enjoyed his association with officers of the Navy, and they in turn found pleasure in working with him. One of his personal aids has recalled the standard set by Meyer's own industry. This aid, now a rear-admiral,

every man, every dollar, every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea." Admiral Sims's personal part in the fulfilment of this prophecy will be remembered long after the reprimand is forgotten. It is worth noting, moreover, that the indiscretion would have passed unnoticed had it not caused President Taft to receive vehement protests from "German-American" societies.

remembers travelling frequently with him from New York to Boston by the ten o'clock train, in which Meyer, spreading his office papers on a table set up before his chair in the car, would lose himself so completely in them that lunch was quite ignored until after the arrival of the train at three o'clock. The same associate and friend recalls a separate and characteristic incident—the pursuit of Meyer into the South, where he had gone from Washington with friends for a brief holiday, by a member of his staff who knew that his chief would want to have his pleasures interrupted for the immediate decision, thus in fact secured, upon an important matter that had unexpectedly come up. The whole question, says the aid, would have been laid aside until the return of any other Secretary.

Still another incident is related by Admiral Leutze, who was in charge of the Brooklyn Navy Yard while the battleship *Florida* was building there in 1910. On the Saturday—June 18—of Colonel Roosevelt's landing in New York after his African hunting-trip, a violent wind blew over the crane on the government floating derrick, *Hercules*, used in lifting heavy armour-plate for the *Florida*. Meyer was on the *Dolphin* engaged in greeting the former President. On Sunday, when Meyer was to visit Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, he received an urgent appeal from Admiral Leutze to come to the Navy Yard, inspect the damage wrought by the wind, and approve, if he would, the course the Admiral had taken. Meyer immediately modified his plans for the day, visited the Yard, and

learned from its Commandant that, without authority, he had signed a contract the night before with a wrecking company for the immediate repairs without which both the work on the Florida and the whole building programme of the Navy would have been seriously delayed. Meyer instantly approved the Commandant's action, telling him that he had saved the Department a great deal of money. Admiral Leutze went on to remind the Secretary that the House had just passed a deficiency bill, which would go to the Senate the next day, Monday, and that this expense must be added to it. Meyer began telegraphing vigorously to Washington, with the result that the item was introduced into the bill in the Senate, and agreed upon by the House on Tuesday — a "record case," as Admiral Leutze believes, of expedition in such business. It can hardly be doubted that the impression Meyer had produced upon Congressional committees by his appearances before them, prepared to answer intelligently, and without promptings from subordinates, their questions on all manner of naval topics, had prepared Congress to act favourably upon this emergency request as coming from a Secretary who knew what he was talking about.

It was devotion of this kind to the interests of the Navy that gave to so many of its officers the warm feeling which they entertained for him. His devotion to his friends was of the same nature. A fellow member of Mr. Taft's Cabinet — gratefully recalling Meyer's appreciation of all the humours of the meetings of that body — relates also a characteristic in-

stance of his thoughtfulness for a friend in distress. Riding with Meyer one morning before their office duties began, this Cabinet officer lost control of his horse, which ran away and threw him. Meyer was greatly concerned for the possible consequences. The two men motored home together. In the course of the morning a naval surgeon called, under orders from Meyer, to examine the victim of the accident. Nothing serious was found, but before the office day was done, Meyer himself called for his colleague and insisted, against his protestations, upon taking him for a motor drive and making sure that all was well.

As there is little of Meyer's diary to draw upon for the details of his daily life during his four years at the head of the Navy Department, so his correspondence yields less than in other periods. Through most of this time he was not separated from his family, and there was far less occasion for reporting by letter to officials of the Government than, for example, there had been while he was in Russia. In the files of his correspondence, however, are found a few letters which should be given here for what they reveal of the details of his work and of the time in which it was done. They will be presented in chronological order, with the few words of introduction that may be needed.

To Theodore Roosevelt

March 8, 1909.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I was terribly put out with myself after I learned that your train did not leave until five o'clock, and for not going

down again before three to make sure that you had gotten away on time.

After Governor Draper and the Massachusetts troops had passed, Cabot and I left and walked to his house and had a cup of tea, where we talked over everything, with his wife and Doctor Bigelow. A rather depressed group it was, too.

Yesterday Cabot and I took a ride and went along one of the paths which we have so often accompanied you on. We missed you very much. The whole atmosphere has changed, and it seems that the ginger, for a time, has gone out.

This morning I suspended the order which Newberry, among a raft of other papers, got you to sign, practically abolishing the Pensacola and New Orleans Navy Yards. I am in full sympathy with the policy of only keeping up the Navy Yards which are important and necessary, and of reducing the expenditures to a minimum at the other Yards; but this order has raised a good deal of feeling in Louisiana and Florida, and the commercial bodies, as well as citizens, are on the backs of the Senators. I gave a hearing to the delegations from Louisiana and Florida yesterday, and McEnery seemed very much exercised, as was Foster.¹ As you know, they have been your supporters, and it is very important to have their good-will during the next four years in the support of the Navy. The expenditures last year at New Orleans amounted to only \$20,000, and I saw the importance of going slow there and thus preserving the good-will of McEnery and Foster for the future. To all intents and purposes I can carry out the order which you signed, although I have suspended it, without an Executive order, and this will relieve the Senators from the pressure which is being brought to bear upon them and soothe their feelings at the same time. It did not require an Executive order to bring about what Mr. Newberry wished to attain.

¹ S. D. McEnery and M. J. Foster, Senators from Louisiana.

Both Admirals Capps and Pillsbury agree with me now that it would not be expedient to push the matter through under the order, but rather to bring about the results in a different way.

I am tremendously interested in the work of the Department, and am satisfied I shall become very much absorbed in it.

Please give my best regards to Mrs. Roosevelt and believe me, as always,

Very sincerely yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

To President Taft

WASHINGTON, October 5, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

. . . I arrived here last Sunday, having spent two days in New York for the sole purpose of entertaining on the Mayflower the foreign naval officers. Admiral Edward Seymour of the English Navy, Grosse Admiral von Koester of the German Navy, and Admiral Perez of the Chilean Navy, were all extremely interesting men. The attentions shown them seemed to be appreciated.

Cook arrived here on Sunday and seems to be getting ahead of Peary in every way as regards the first outburst of enthusiasm in the different cities over the discovery of the Pole.

I spent Saturday night at Wickersham's, on Long Island, and he had Laffan¹ and his wife at dinner. Laffan and I had quite a discussion on the subject of jurisdiction over railroads and as to the question of issuing bonds and stocks. He asked me to name a single railroad which had any water in it to-day, and I mentioned the Southern Railroad, which I remembered had 120 millions of common stock. His reply was: "You have selected the best one you could." He has not the slightest idea

¹ Presumably William M. Laffan, editor of the New York Sun.

that Cook went up to the North Pole. His idea is that he and his backer, Bradley the gambler, who runs the gambling hells at Palm Beach, put up a job on the public, and is going to make anywhere from a half million to a million of dollars out of it in lectures and copyrights on Cook's book. It is unfortunate that Peary has shown so little tact since his return, as he has played right into Cook's hands.

Mr. Carpenter took me over the executive offices to-day. They are going to be a wonderful improvement and really very attractive and well arranged. It seems almost incomprehensible how business was transacted heretofore in such small quarters. . . .

If your digestive organs stand your present trip, I think you must be copper-fastened and guaranteed against any future troubles of that kind.

I hope this will find you feeling well and that you will be able to get some enjoyment and rest during your trip.

Faithfully yours,

G. V. L. MEYER.

To Theodore Roosevelt

March 10, 1910.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT, —

What wonderful sport you have had, and how much you must have enjoyed it! I am so glad you had it, and I do not believe any one else ever had anything like it. How fortunate Kermit was, to have been able to go along with you, and what a recollection it will be for him! I have often found that I have gotten as much pleasure out of my sport in after years, in recalling the many delightful incidents and experiences, as I did at the time. I have followed you with the greatest interest in *Scribner's*, and am looking forward to the issuing of your book, which I understand will contain much more than has been published in the magazine.

It may interest you to know that the Duchess of Aosta has gone way up the Congo River, with an English woman companion, and is to write five articles for *Harper's Weekly*. It sounds like an unhealthy trip.

I am so glad for Mrs. Roosevelt's sake that she is about to meet you again. She, as women often do, has had the hard end of it, and must have passed through a good deal of anxiety at times. But it is all over now, and you and she will have such a delightful time in Rome, Paris, Berlin, and London. I think you will be surprised at the interest people have in you abroad, which I have always told you is tremendous.

I am having a very stiff fight for the two battleships, which is pretty contemptible, considering that I have kept them in the programme and yet made a reduction of nearly ten millions of dollars in the present appropriation bill, as compared with the appropriations for the previous year. In other words, I have really saved the price of one battleship, and there should not be any question about appropriating for two. But the old crowd are doing all they can to defeat it. President Taft is most anxious that the two battleships be appropriated for, and is appealing to certain members on the ground that this is the one Roosevelt policy, of all others, as to which there should not be the slightest question.

I have had a big fight on this winter with the Committee over reorganization. When I went into the Navy Department I was very much impressed with your letters to Congress of January 27 and February 27, 1909, in which you called attention to the fact that the Department was not organized so as to bring about the best results, and that it failed to coördinate the work of bureaus to make the Department serve the one purpose for which it was created, that is, the development and handling of a first-class fighting fleet; in other words, the highest military efficiency. With that in view, I went to work

to see what could be done. I saw that my predecessors had made recommendations, but that Congress had never taken any action. I studied the reports for the past twenty years, and finally decided to do just the opposite from what Newberry stated before the Committee he had done — worked out a plan without consulting any one. Therefore, I got together some of the best minds in the Navy and referred to them all the documents and reports which I had collected together, including the able one which was made by the Commission of which Moody was the head during the last two months of your administration. The Board to which I put up these problems for enlightenment was known as the Swift Board, and was composed of: —

Rear Admiral Wm. Swift, Senior Member,

Captain C. E. Vreeland, Member,

“ S. A. Staunton, “

“ F. F. Fletcher, “

Commander Roy C. Smith, “

“ G. W. Logan “

Lieutenant Commander L. H. Chandler, Member,

Commander J. M. Poyer, Recorder.

I myself, without waiting for Congress, and after assuring myself through the Department of Justice that I was acting within the statutes, put into force a digested plan of reorganization, on the first day of December, 1909, which carried out practically the principles of the Moody-Dayton-Mahan Board.

In your letter of February 27, 1909, you state that, to supplement and finish the work of the Moody Commission, another commission must eventually be designated, to take up the proposed plan and complete it as to details, and that no plan can be satisfactory if there is deviation from the essen-

tial military principles specified in this report. This I fully recognized.

Under the present plan of reorganization the work of the bureaus continues as heretofore, but they have been grouped into four logical divisions — Military Operations of the Fleet; Personnel; Material; and Inspection (ashore and afloat). In addition to the bureau chiefs, whose duties have not been changed, there is for each of these divisions an aid, or counsel, as follows: Rear Admiral Wainwright, for Military Operations of the Fleet; Rear Admiral Potter, for Personnel; Rear Admiral Swift (who is to be succeeded on March 17 by Captain Fletcher) for Material; and Captain Ward, for Inspection. These four, when called upon by me, act as a military council, and are held responsible individually for advice with regard to their divisions. This organization ensures for the future a continuity of policy, with knowledge and experience in a digested form, for the Secretary of the Navy. In other words, “an advisory board, equipped not merely with advice but with reasons.” It also enables the Secretary to obtain a clear understanding and a firm grasp of leading military considerations through public responsible advisers, who can be changed in any instance if they are not making good.

In the navy yard organization I retained all the consolidations of shops which Newberry brought about, but found that it was impracticable and costly to have a constructor as manager of the entire yard and assistant constructors at the head of the various departments of which they had not expert knowledge, thus making the Steam Engineers, Ordnance men, and Civil Engineers, mere inspectors. I have changed the manufacturing department into two divisions, instead of one; that is, a hull division and a machinery division, with a constructor as the expert head of the hull division, and a steam engineer as the expert head of the machinery division. In

doing this I have followed what has been shown to bring about the best results in the English and German navies, and in our own successful private ship-yards, such as the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, the New York Shipbuilding Company, and Cramps.

I was thankful that I had put all this in force December 1, 1909, because as soon as Congress assembled I found opposition and an endeavour to overthrow what I had done. I found that the movement was led by Hale, Foss,¹ Navy Constructor Capps, Paymaster-General Rogers, Admiral Goodrich, and supported quietly by Newberry. (At one time it looked as though everything would be upset, but I finally won over the committee to leave everything in operation until Congress convenes again, so that they may be able to judge by actual results. Besides, "Possession is nine points of the law," and I had the reorganization in force and they had nothing to substitute for it, and would have done nothing if I had gone to them in the beginning and asked for authority.) Foss was put out that he had not been consulted, and so was Hale. They preferred to have the constructors in control, as it keeps down the line and the military side of the navy yards.

I am sending you my hearing of February 17, before the Committee, and am going to ask you, as a great favour, to read pages 679 to 705, inclusive, in which I review the situation.

I should not have gone into this matter so fully in this letter, but I know that there is nothing which interests you more than the Navy, and I wanted you to know just what had been done, and what is being done, in order that you might be posted and get the information from me first-hand. The plan has the support of the entire line; I know of but two exceptions. . . .

¹ George Edmund Foss, of Illinois, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs.

I am tremendously interested in the work and have never put as much time into anything as I have done in the last year in the Navy. It is gratifying to know that I have the loyal support of the officers, and that the President is approving absolutely every move.

To show you how closely Japan follows everything: I put into force at the Boston yard, July 1, a system of cost-accounting, which was absolutely lacking in the Navy, and without which it is impossible to know what we are accomplishing in the way of economy, or what the work is costing us. Japan has already asked to be permitted to send a naval officer over to study the system. I have also received word from a mutual friend that Sir Arthur Wilson, who studied the reorganization, spoke in the highest terms of it. It has also recently been endorsed by the National Marine Engineers' Association, representing 11,500 members, and by ex-Constructor Nixon. I mention this only to show that unprejudiced experts are approving the reorganization plan.

In a poll of the House just made, we find that we lack 25 votes for the two battleships, which are to be of 26,000 - 27,000 tons, with ten 14-inch guns. However, the President is to send for certain members and we hope to pull a sufficient number of members over to get the appropriation through.

The postal savings bank bill passed the Senate on the 3d instant.

I hope this will find you and Kermit perfectly well, and with my love to dear Mrs. Roosevelt, in which my wife joins me, believe me, always,

Faithfully yours,

G. v. L. MEYER.

In the autumn of 1910 Meyer paid an important visit of naval inspection to the Atlantic and Pacific

coasts, and to Cuba. It is unnecessary to accompany him from point to point, but the following letters to Mrs. Meyer and President Taft will serve to suggest the nature of the undertaking.

To Mrs. Meyer

SEATTLE, WASH., *October 11, 1910.*

We arrived here Sunday night, having left Livingston at 2.30 Saturday afternoon. We went through the Yakima district, Washington, where they have established great apple orchards, and I was very much interested in looking at them from the car window. When we reached North Yakima they were selling enormous, perfect, yellow apples at five cents apiece. They have not the flavour, however, of an eastern apple.

We were met at the station in Seattle by Senator Piles and the President of the Chamber of Commerce; but they were considerate enough to leave us to ourselves at the hotel, giving us an opportunity to have a bath, supper, and retire. The next day, Monday, I spent at the Bremerton Navy Yard. It is a run of an hour and a half from Seattle in the Navy tug.

I am surprised to find it really colder here than in Boston at this time of the year, due to the dampness in the air. However, I have still stuck to my open mesh, and up to the present have avoided a cold. Poor Andrews¹ has suffered from one a good deal of the time, but is much better.

I was met at the Bremerton Navy Yard by the marines drawn up on the dock and the officers in their uniforms, and escorted formally to the Commandant's office, where they were presented.

¹ Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Philip Andrews, Secretary Meyer's personal Aid.

After a thorough inspection of the work there, I find it was very important that I got out here to make changes.

We lunched at the Commandant's house, which is on a high bluff overlooking Puget Sound, and beautifully located, returning to Seattle at the end of the afternoon. In the evening they gave me a dinner at the Club here, at which were present prominent gentlemen of Seattle, and of course there was the usual speech-making. I find that on naval matters now I do not mind whether they call on me or not, as I am getting to be familiar with the subject.

They are very much aroused on the Pacific coast as to their safety from Japanese attack; in fact, they are in about the same frame of mind that our people were in when they dreaded the onslaughts of the Spanish cruisers at the beginning of the Spanish-American war.

To-day I am receiving delegations and inspecting shipping plants, and this afternoon the proposed torpedo station. I hope to get a quiet evening.

To-morrow at eleven o'clock we start for San Francisco and the Navy Yard at the Golden Gate, known as Mare Island.

I got your telegram this morning, acknowledging mine, and telling me that Bey was with you, and the Beaches also. How pleased Bey must be to get on the first crew! I hope he will be able to stay there and I think he will, barring accidents.

I found letters here from you, Julia, Alys, and Bey. The mail takes about as long to reach here as it takes to London, but the telegraph, of course, is much quicker than the cable.

The people are certainly very hospitable out here and are very much pleased that I have taken the trouble to visit the Pacific slope myself, to learn from my own observations the

requirements and needs of the country. I think it may help in legislation this winter.

To President Taft

EN ROUTE TO NEW ORLEANS,
"October 22, 1910.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Since writing you from St. Paul I have visited Seattle, Bremerton Navy Yard, San Francisco, the Mare Island Navy Yard, Goat Island (training station), Angel Island (quarantine station), the coaling station at Tiburon, Cal., (on a peninsula), Hunter's Point (two drydocks belonging to the Union Iron Works), Los Angeles, San Pedro (the harbour of Los Angeles), and San Diego, where there is a coaling station which has never been used and probably never will be, and which has cost the Government \$200,000.

Spaulding, of San Diego, who won out in the primaries for the senatorship, was in the East, so I did not see him; but there is a movement on foot among a number of Republican insurgents to overlook the decision of the primaries and defeat Spaulding for senator. Wright, the State senator, thought it would not succeed, but there is no question that the effort is being made. Senator Wright said the sentiment in the south of California for you is very strong, and added that his judgment was that by a year from now it will have spread all over the state.

In San Francisco I attended a banquet that was given for me by the Chamber of Commerce, at which Governor Gillett, Senator Perkins, the Congressmen, and the Mayor of the city were present. Gillett is endeavouring to get together the Governors of the States on the Pacific slope to inaugurate a movement demanding that the battleship fleet be kept on the Pacific coast. In my address to the Chamber of Commerce

I endeavoured to show that, in order to have a battle fleet on the Pacific, the coast must be in a position to maintain it, and that there were no docks belonging to the Government at the present time which would accommodate all the battleships now in commission, due either to a lack of water in the channel or the size of the dock. I informed them [that] by 1912 the large dock would be completed at Puget Sound, but that at the present time there is only 20 feet of water at low tide in front of the dock at Mare Island, although the dock itself is large enough to receive any battleship; that in the channel over the Pinola Shoals the depth at low tide is not more than 22 feet, and that it would require an expenditure of \$500,000 by the War Department to make that a channel 30 feet deep at low tide and 500 feet wide; also, that one million dollars would be necessary for dredging, building dikes to overcome the silt that filters in the channels, and to make sufficient depth for the berthing of the battleships at the Navy Yard pier. The Mare Island Navy Yard has 900 acres of high land and 1,800 acres of marsh. There are very complete shops there and two dry docks, the large one having just been completed a few months ago. Fourteen million dollars have been expended in establishing that station. A Board of Engineers, made up of Army and Navy officers, has recommended an expenditure of one million dollars in order to give a depth of 30 feet of water at Mare Island. If that expenditure will bring about the necessary results, it is well worth it, provided the War Department will at the same time complete the channel over the Pinola Shoals.

There is an alternative proposition which appeals to me very much, provided it can be satisfactorily brought about: the Government owns an island known as Goat Island, directly in the harbour of San Francisco, and opposite the terminals of the Southern Pacific, Sante Fé, and a third (electrically equipped) railroad. It is very desirable as a terminal, in that

it would reduce the distance from San Francisco one-half and make the ferry about the same as it is from New York to Jersey City. Goat Island is now used by us as a training station for blue jackets and a small number of marines, which could be transferred advantageously to the Mare Island Navy Yard. I have approached the Southern Pacific and the Atchison Railroad officials, to know if they desired to make a tentative offer for the island, which, of course, would be subject to your approval and the action of the Congress. I believe that sufficient money could be obtained for Goat Island to enable us to buy Hunter's Point, where there are already two well-equipped dry-docks — one large enough to dock any battleship that we have in commission or in contemplation. There is abundant water there, and it will never require any dredging. It is also quite accessible to San Francisco, while Mare Island is thirty miles from the city. If a satisfactory price should be offered for Goat Island, the purchase of Hunter's Point would make unnecessary the million-dollar expenditure for dredging and the building of dikes, etc., at Mare Island, nor would it be necessary for the War Department to dredge Pinola Shoals, at an expense of \$500,000, because the plan then would be to maintain Mare Island only for the docking of smaller cruisers, torpedo destroyers, as a station for naval supplies for the Pacific and Asiatic stations, as a training station for blue jackets and marines, and as a manufacturing plant, where the shops are already equipped for the requirements of the fleet. Hunter's Point would be merely a docking station, with a kitchen repair-shop.

At Los Angeles I made the same arguments against a fleet being on the Pacific at the present time as I did at San Francisco, adding that there was no probability of the battle fleet coming to the Pacific coast until the Canal is completed. The argument seems to have been well received, and many of the

San Francisco citizens told me that I had smashed Governor Gillett's scheme by making a plain statement of conditions as they existed in the harbours and Navy Yards on the Pacific coast.

At Puget Sound there is plenty of water, and by 1912 it will be able to accommodate the fleet with two docks. The trouble has been that money has been expended in different localities and locations, probably due in many instances to political influence, which time has shown was not well advised or necessary. For instance, some miles from Bremerton Navy Yard a location has been acquired and a magazine station established. It is impossible for any ship to get to it, and the ammunition must be moved by barges. It is, however, an ideal picnic ground! Also, a torpedo station has been located on another island, which might have been placed to advantage within the Bremerton navy yard.

San Francisco, if we acquire Hunter's Point, would be in an equally good condition, but otherwise it would take from two or three years before sufficient dredging could be accomplished, with the dikes required to overcome the silt, to put Mare Island in a condition necessary for the maintenance of the fleet.

Los Angeles and San Diego also wanted naval stations, but I explained that the policy of the future would be to concentrate in two Navy Yards all the requirements of the Pacific coast, and bringing those stations up to the highest perfection, keeping the fleet at sea and having it visit the important ports of the Pacific during manœuvres.

San Diego has a natural harbour but requires a bar to be dredged three feet more before it will be accessible to the battle fleet. Los Angeles has a harbour made by hand, as it were, with a long breakwater on which the Government has expended three millions of dollars. It will be useful as a harbour of refuge for the torpedo fleet, cruisers, and a limited number of

battleships. There are great expectations of commerce, and even immigration from Mediterranean ports, when the Canal is completed; in fact, the Canal may be the means of solving the labour problems in California, as the climate is such that it will undoubtedly attract Italians to the Pacific coast, which resembles their own climate, rather than the Argentine. At present the cost of bringing them across the continent by rail is too great.

I am now on my way to New Orleans, Pensacola, and Key West, in order to see the Navy Yards there. The first two should be abolished, but I shall be prepared to report more in detail after inspecting them. From Key West I am to go over to Havana and from there to Guantanamo, in order to learn the possibilities of that harbour, which is already used as the winter base of the fleet and will increase in importance as a base when the Canal is opened. I feel that an effort should be made to put that station on a basis commensurate with its future strategic importance. I shall return in time to vote.

Please present my best regards to Mrs. Taft, and believe me, always,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

To Mrs. Meyer

ON BOARD U.S.S. DOLPHIN
en route Miami, Fla., from Cuba
November 3, 1910.

We sailed from Miami on the 29th of October, headed for Guantanamo, Cuba. However, we ran into such rough weather that we changed our course and headed for Key West, as the winds were more favourable and the ship behaving badly. I was feeling mean as dirt, though this passed off not long after we changed our course. It was our original plan to

inspect Key West station before Guantanamo. We arrived at Key West at night, and at six the next morning we were up and dressed, landing upon the coral deposits which now form the naval station at Key West. There I found old Commodore Beehler in charge. You may remember he was my naval attaché when I was at Rome, and he also served me during my first visit to Kiel, when I first met the Emperor there. By half-past eight we had completed the inspection, and at nine we sailed for Havana. It was beautiful overhead but the roughest sea that I ever encountered on so small a boat. I had my chair lashed to the mast, and there I stayed for seven hours, reading part of the time and watching the angles that we were taking. We dipped several times to the extent of 33 degrees, which beats the record for the Dolphin's rolling. Those guns that are on the poop deck I saw several times dip their noses into the sea, and once it nearly carried away one of the boats, as she was lifted by the water from her davits. Strange to say, I felt perfectly well, but it was very fatiguing balancing one's self. It was impossible to serve any meals, or to have anything on the table, even with racks. Fortunately, it was only a seven hours' run and we entered Havana at 3.45 in the afternoon. It was a wonderful entrance, with the old forts and the masts of the Maine sticking out of the water, the surf beating on the Esplanade, the bright sun and the quaint buildings, which gave it such a foreign aspect that it was impossible to believe one's self in the western hemisphere. We were met immediately by the Secretary of their Marine, who is called a Lieutenant Colonel (their navy consists of one small gunboat and two tugs), who came on board, as well as the Collector of the Port and the Secretary to the President. We saluted the fort as we passed, and they returned the salute to me of nineteen guns. We landed where quite a number of people had assembled, and there was the usual amount of photographing by the would-be

Cuban-American press men. We were then taken in automobiles to the Hotel Plaza, where clean rooms were furnished us and a nice bath.

It is a singular fact that none of the windows have glasses in them, merely blinds and shutters, so that if there is a storm it is necessary to close the shutters and light the electric light. The rooms are very high-studded, — twice as high as anything in America, — so there is sufficient air.

That night we dined at a hotel called Miramar, in the courtyard of which were balconies and scenes which reminded one of pictures of Spain, and suggested, with the music, the opera of Carmen. It was all weird and interesting. The hotel is situated at the corner of the Esplanade and the Prado, and is the only hotel with a good chef.

The reporters and the people in Cuba were rather amusing in one respect: the day after our arrival was election day and they got it into their heads that I had come down to give moral effect to the Cubans; to show that the American navy could appear at any moment, and to remind them that they were to do their duty or we would step in.

The next morning I called formally on the President by appointment, accompanied by Minister Jackson¹ and my aid, and the Military Attaché, Colonel Barber, where we were received in the palace that Governor Taft lived in, and Bob Bacon. Later we lunched at an inn which might have been in Italy or Spain, where they had a very good chef, to which Captain Kelley, who is the New York *Herald* representative and a former naval officer, ciceroned us. We brought him with us from Miami as Bennett's personal representative, of the New York *Herald*, to report the inspection at Guantanamo. We also have Weightman, of the New York *Sun*, and an Associated Press representative met us at Guantanamo.

¹ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, of New Jersey.

That night we dined with Minister Jackson, at the legation. He has a charming house, really a very large villa, with courtyard, closed staircase, and ante-chamber. After dinner, we took the train at ten o'clock for Santiago, having ordered the Dolphin around to meet us there. The journey to Santiago is of twenty-four hours and gave us a splendid idea of the fertility of the soil and of the vast sugar-cane fields. Everything looks prosperous and the elections went off quietly.

As we reached Santiago (10 P.M.) we learned from the Consul at the station that the Dolphin had not arrived, so we were taken to the Venus Hotel, which is on the ancient square adjoining the Governor's palace, where the American flag was first raised after the Cuban war, when peace had been declared. On the other side of the square is the old cathedral. Santiago is supposed to be the most ancient town in the western hemisphere. The hotel at which we passed the night was formerly the Club, and it is said that it was here that Admiral Cervera and his officers gambled for high stakes, and probably in desperation, the night before they sailed out from Santiago. The rooms at the hotel were peculiar, to say the least. Partitions between the rooms went up about ten feet and then stopped; the doors were partially screened, were made of glass and could be flung open or almost looked over. The floors were of tiles and the beds not the most comfortable. I got little sleep, as I could hear — snoring in the next room and people talking throughout the night, and was twice awakened by wireless messages from the Dolphin. Still, it was a wonderful experience, and I got up with the sun and looked out upon the weird and attractive scene from my window.

The Dolphin had arrived outside of the harbour at eleven o'clock in the night. It was the entrance to this harbour which Hobson tried to block, and it is rather difficult to navigate at night. We found our launch at the custom-house pier at half-

past seven A.M. and joined the Dolphin again at eight. We then weighed anchor and started out of this wonderful land-locked harbour, with mountains on all sides, like the volcanic lake of Nemi, only on a larger scale. Suddenly we came upon the corkscrew exit, with the deserted forts, and as we passed over the spot where the Merrimac was sunk, our compass veered a whole point.

The sail to Guantanamo, which we entered at eleven o'clock in the morning, is about forty miles. Here is another extraordinary harbour, only not so picturesque as Santiago, but well adapted for the entire battle fleet to anchor within its sheltered confines, with great natural advantages and greater possibilities as a future naval base for the defense of the Panama Canal. While at Guantanamo I received your cable from Funchal, telling me of your safe arrival, but I regretted to hear that you had had a stormy passage. Every one tells me that Madeira is charming, and I have also heard like accounts of Teneriffe. I cabled you at once.

At Guantanamo we discontinued our inspection at noon to take lunch, and then continued it in the afternoon, so as to sail at five; and we are now skirting the Island of Cuba, which is 500 miles, and making for Miami again, where I hope to catch the express and arrive in Washington on Sunday morning, the 6th. At this moment, noon, we are 340 miles from Miami, 840 from Charleston, and 1400 from Washington. Expect to take the train from Miami to-morrow, reach Washington Sunday A.M.

In August and September of 1911 Meyer visited England "primarily for the purpose" — as his Annual Report for that year expressed it — "of examining into the systems of organization and the methods employed in the English dock yards and in leading ship-

building establishments in Great Britain." The Report sets forth the results of his observations in some detail, and well illustrates Meyer's readiness to learn at the most fruitful sources of information. Again the more personal aspects of the experience are found in letters to President Taft and Mrs. Meyer.

To President Taft

[LONDON], *August 14, 1911.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

I feel as though I had got out of the frying-pan into the fire. In other words, the heat here is as great as in America. All the country is completely burnt up, and the green sward of England has disappeared.

On the steamer with me I found ex-Governor Herrick. . . . Brown, President of the New York Central, was on board also. . . . He had just come from the West, — Iowa and other insurgent states, — and he assured me that there was a very large change in the sentiment, and that you were stronger with the people and growing so every day. That seemed also to be the opinion of some business men residing in New York State who were on board.

I find that in Germany the heads of the railroads meet the head of the Army and the head of the Navy twice a year, in order to consider the question of transportation of troops as well as supplies, in case of an emergency. This has never been done in our country. I broached the subject to Brown, and asked him if he felt that the representatives of the great transportation lines in America — namely, the Hill, Harriman, Pennsylvania, New York Central and Atchison systems — would be willing to meet quietly the head of the Army and the head of the Navy, and take up the matter of transportation and the requirements in the way of the Government should any emer-

gency ever arise, the information to be absolutely confidential and filed away should the occasion ever occur. If there had been annual meetings of that character previous to the Spanish-American war, there would not have been that congestion which showed the necessity for preparations and plans well conceived. Brown is to consider our talk absolutely confidential, and I shall do nothing further until my return, when I shall take it up with you and the Secretary of War.

Mr. Reid was most kind in giving me a dinner the day after my arrival and putting me in touch with the Government and the Admiralty in a way which has been most advantageous to me. They have received me with the most cordial and frank manner and have put everything at my disposal for study in the way of administration and shop management. I have already had several consultations with the different Sea Lords, and have visited Chatham Navy Yard, spending the entire day there.

I am much impressed with the manner in which they are handling their deserters. They have camps of detention instead of prisons. They have no prison guards and nothing to humiliate the offender beyond strict training and reduced rations. I am strongly of the opinion that we should make an entire change in our system of punishment for those who desert, as in many instances it is done in great ignorance on the part of the blue-jacket.

I am to inspect some of the great private shipyards, and later shall go to the Portsmouth Yard.

I am much concerned to think that you are being detained in Washington during all this heated spell and that Congress is still in session. I know how unlimited your patience is; may your strength be fully equal to the occasion!

With sincere regards,

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

To Mrs. Meyer

WREST PARK, AMPHILL, BEDFORDSHIRE,
Sunday, August 13, 1911.

It is my sixth day in England, but it seems longer, I have been doing so much. . . . Reached Liverpool at 8 o'clock A.M. and took the train at 9, reaching London at 1 o'clock, in time for lunch.

We were met at the station by Elliot Bacon and the Naval Attaché, and taken in autos to Dorchester House, where we had a formal lunch with the Ambassador and Mrs. Reid.

After lunch I picked up Whitney [Warren] at Ritz, saw Mrs. Vanderbilt (Grace), who told me I should have come a week earlier and accepted her invitation to stay on the North Star and have met the King and Queen of England, and King of Spain, and several other celebrities. It makes a much better impression at home for me to go to the Admiralty as soon as I get here, than to spend a week on arrival at Cowes flitting about — bowing from the waist!

Tuesday afternoon Whit and I called on Mr. Morgan at Princess Gate, found him in, and he personally conducted us and showed his entire collection. It is marvellously fine. He wants to bring it to U. S. Later he insisted upon our going to Dover House, his father's farm in the outskirts of London, 250 acres, and dining there. We found Mr. and Mrs. Marcoe.

Wednesday morning I spent at the Admiralty calling on the First Lord, which corresponds to the Secretary of the Navy. He sent for the different Sea Lords to meet me, and they gave me a very cordial reception and showed a willingness to let me see whatever I wanted. In the afternoon went to the House of Lords, sat in the Diplomatic Gallery with Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador, Count Wrangel, and the Italian Ambassador, Imperiali. The feeling has been very intense over the House of Lords bill.

That night Reid gave his big dinner — all men. I had Lord Kitchener on my right and the First Lord of the Admiralty on my left — Sydney Buxton, P.M.G., Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Paget, Harcourt, etc., etc. Kitchener was very interesting and asked me to come and visit him some time while he was head [?] of Egypt at Cairo. When the cigars were brought, Reid asked me to change seats with him, and that put me between Sir Edward Grey and Lord Bristol. Grey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is one of the interesting men of England.

It was a memorable occasion and I had interesting conversations with many present. McKenna said to me, "You know you have a big reputation in this country" — rather a nice bouquet, even if it was exaggerated.

Thursday, Whitney and I had an ideal day together; automobilized to Cambridge and spent the day in the University, and got back in time for dinner.

The Ambassador and I went to the House of Lords, where the excitement was intense; heard Rosebery, Curzon, Halsbury, and Lansdowne speak; then saw the division, which will be historical and has resulted in the disposition of the House of Lords and a one-chamber government.¹

Friday I spent the day at the great Chatham Navy Yard, later arriving at Cliveden at 7 P.M. Nancy² is in the same wonderful spirits. . . . Present Crown Prince of Roumania, Lord Winterton, Mrs. Drew (Gladstone's daughter). . . . Winterton very agreeable, sense of humour, and wide awake. Nancy very amusing. . . . Astor is now an M.P. I should have liked to stay on, the Connaughts were coming, but I had promised the Reids. . . . The heat has been intense — every

¹ The division in the House of Lords on the Parliament Bill occurred August 10.

² Mrs. Waldorf Astor.

day at Cliveden we dined on the terrace; have every door and window closed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and I have struck up a friendship! :

To Mrs. Meyer

Sunday, August 28, 1911.

MILLDEN LODGE, EDZELL, FORFARSHIRE.

Here I am, after four days of delightful weather and fine shooting, and now I am trying to get away to Glasgow, but I am afraid that I am tied up by the great strike. It looks as though no trains would be allowed to move. The government seems helpless. . . .

Last Monday Sydney Buxton, a member of the Cabinet, gave me a dinner on House of Commons Terrace: the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. Birrell, Secretary for Ireland, Loreburn, Harcourt, T. P. O'Connor, and several members of Parliament. It was most interesting.

Tuesday night I left for Scotland, as the heat had been intense ever since I got to England. Mrs. Vanderbilt has asked me to join them on the yacht at Trouville, and we were to dine one night with Princess Daisy Pless and the next with Duchess of Marlborough; but I decided shooting on the moors would be the best.

The Somssichs asked me to stay with them in Paris, but one is more independent in a hotel; and Princess May Fürstenberg has asked me to visit them in Austria near Salzburg, but I do not see how I can arrange to spare the time.

The Reids have shown me unbounded hospitality, put the house, automobile and everything at my disposal. Mrs. Jones and her daughter Trixey, Dr. Kinnicutt, Bertie Hay, Victor Sorchon and Willie Hoffman are all here.

To the political perplexities which in March of 1912 began to assail the friends of Theodore Roosevelt who were also friends of President Taft — and most of all the members of the Taft administration — Meyer was by no means immune. It was a period of much difficulty for any one holding the personal relations in which Meyer stood toward the two conspicuous figures of the Republican party. Had he not so completely retained the friendship of Roosevelt, even to the point which made him one of the chief advocates of Roosevelt's nomination by the Republicans in 1916, his attitude toward the occurrences of 1912 would be a painful topic of discussion. As it is, some idea of his position at the time should be given. It was a position of genuine distress. His private letters show how strongly he felt that Colonel Roosevelt would not have announced his candidacy for the presidential nomination had he consulted his best friends. The correspondence shows also that before this announcement was made Meyer was virtually certain that nothing of the sort would occur. A fellow-member of Mr. Taft's cabinet reports that about two weeks before the unexpected announcement Meyer went to Roosevelt and expressed his readiness to resign from the Cabinet and to support him if he decided to run for the presidency. Assured that this was not to be, he naturally determined to remain where he was, and throughout the campaign gave his complete and loyal support to the candidacy of President Taft.

A letter to President Taft in the campaign sum-

mer of 1912 will speak for Meyer's interest in the impending election.

To President Taft

HAMILTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
August 6, 1912.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, —

Thank you for your letter of recent date. I have read your speech of acceptance with great interest. I wish there was some way that we could compel every individual voter in the country to read every word of it. If that could be accomplished, there would be no doubt in my mind as to the result of the November election. It should be the principal campaign document from now on. In addition to that, I wish a digest might be made by the National Committee of the principal points and the same distributed as leaflets throughout the country, with the following heading from Root's speech with his name added: "Your title to the nomination is as clear and unimpeachable as the title of any candidate of any party since political conventions began." The constant assertion by the Insurgents that your nomination was stolen is having some effect among voters who do not follow politics carefully — for instance, the *Boston Journal*, owned by Munsey, has quite a circulation in Vermont and northern New England and has, I learn, prejudiced a number of voters. I have talked with Easterbrook of New Hampshire about arranging to have Williams counteract that in Vermont before the State election.

I asked Captain Palmer¹ to go and see you about arranging to have you attend the mobilization of the fleet at New York about the middle of October. There will be thirty battle-ships there instead of twenty-five last year and a great demon-

¹ Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Leigh C. Palmer, Secretary Meyer's personal Aid at the time.

stration; also that I was very desirous to have you attend the launching of the battleship New York in the Brooklyn Navy Yard at the same time. It will please the workmen and have a very good effect in Brooklyn before election. Palmer has not yet reported to me, so I am not sure that he found you.

I was sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. Taft's father. Please express to her my sympathy in her affliction.

Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

In a vein not hitherto touched, a letter written after the national election of 1912 had resulted in disaster to the Republican party reveals something of the cheerful spirit in which Meyer was carrying on the work of the Department.

To Mrs. C. A. Goss

November 19, 1912.

MY DEAR MADAM, —

In compliance with your request of the 21st instant for an autograph letter for the Bazaar of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Omaha, I venture to cite the fact that the wisest of men and the greatest of administrators, King Solomon, maintained a Navy nearly three thousand years ago, as shown in 1 Kings, x, 22-23: —

“For the king had at sea a navy. . . .

“So King Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom.”

Wishing success for your enterprise, believe me,

Very truly yours,

G. V. L. MEYER.

Another note, to his successor in office, may be taken to remind one that the good sportsman's instinct did not desert Meyer as he was about to quit the work he had so greatly enjoyed.

To Hon. Josephus Daniels

February 27, 1913.

DEAR MR. DANIELS, —

Allow me to congratulate you on the prospect of becoming Secretary of the Navy.

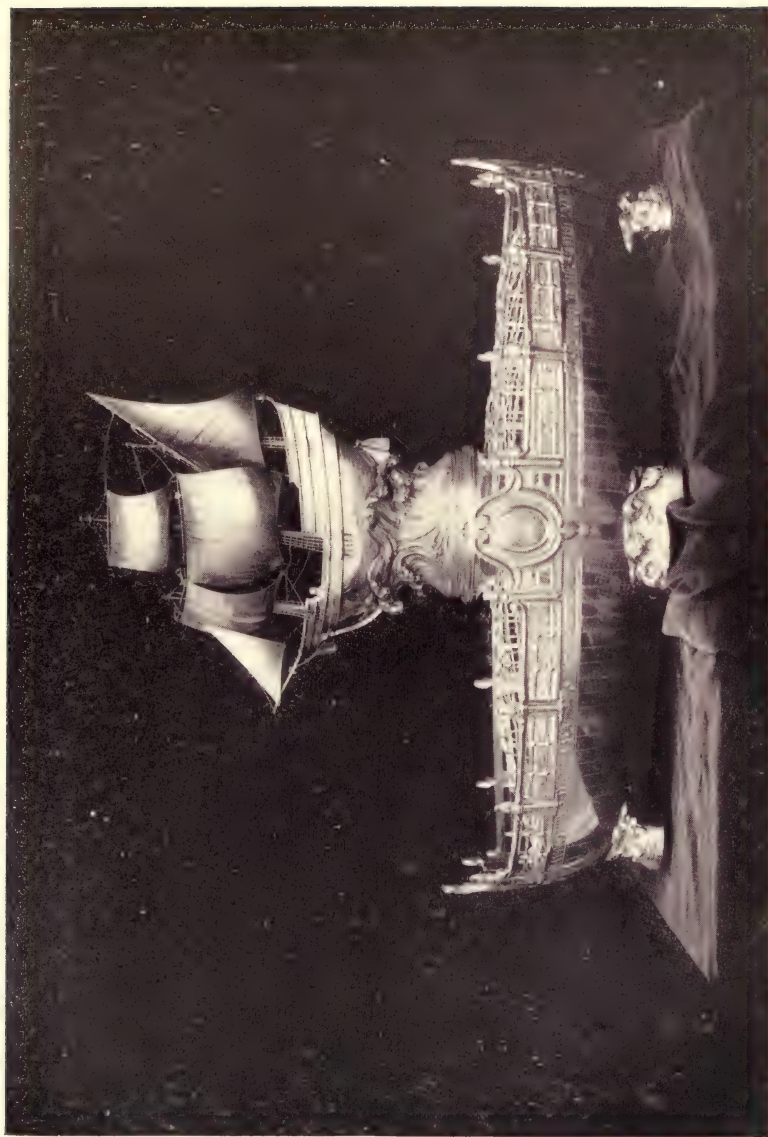
It would give me great pleasure to extend to you the courtesy of the Department and to enable you, before the fourth of March, to familiarize yourself with such duties of the office as you desire. I should also like to have the opportunity of presenting to you the various Aids and Bureau Chiefs.

It has been my privilege to serve as Secretary of the Navy for four years, and I have never worked with men who have such unselfish and patriotic motives as the officers of the United States Navy.

Yours truly,

G. V. L. MEYER.

There are no further words of Meyer's own that need to be added to this account of his work in the Navy Department. A few words from others will complete the story. A widespread admiration of what he had done found many expressions — none more gratifying, it may well be imagined, than a portion of a letter from a retired rear-admiral, writing in the last year of Meyer's administration: "Permit me to take the liberty to add that, in my opinion, you are, in every respect, the most efficient Secretary of the



SILVER GALLEON PRESENTED TO SECRETARY MEYER BY OFFICERS OF THE
U. S. NAVY

Navy who has held the office during my service therein, covering more than 49 years. I know that, in saying this, I am voicing the opinion of most of the older officers, some of whom saw service long before the Civil War."

From Meyer's kinsman and friend, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, came a note, dated March 2, 1913: "Now that you are laying down public office, at least for a time, I cannot help sending you this line of congratulation upon the way in which you have filled every office that you have held in city and in state, as Ambassador, and as member of the Cabinet. With industry, ability, and dignity you have done yourself, your family, and your country honour."

A later estimate of Meyer's work for the Navy, by Rear-Admiral Richard Wainwright, the first of Meyer's Aids for Operations, appeared in the *Boston Transcript* immediately upon his death. In it these sentences are found: "Some Secretaries of the Navy have had more opportunities to show their administrative ability, but none have made better use of their opportunities. Under Mr. Meyer, for the first time since the establishment of the bureau system in the Navy Department, the fleet was placed under the control of the military branch of the Navy, and history will record that the high standing of the American fleet during this war was partly due to the firm foundation established by George von L. Meyer when Secretary of the Navy."

Apart from the testimony of words Meyer received as a parting gift from officers of the Navy — limited

in their subscriptions toward it to the sum of one dollar apiece — a silver model of a galleon. This token of appreciation was most dearly prized, for its genuine representation of a feeling that corresponded with Meyer's own for the personnel of the Navy.

VII

THE FINAL YEARS

(1913-1918)

WHEN the Republican party passed out of power in 1913 — after a tenure of office unbroken, save by the two terms of President Cleveland, since the inauguration of Lincoln in 1861 — Mr. Meyer became again, for the first time in many years, a mere private citizen. His public career had been closely identified with his political party, to which his entire loyalty was given. It would not be strange if the political historian of the United States in the first quarter of the nineteenth century should find in the year 1913 the ending of an old order, the beginning of a new. It was only a year later that the entire world began to undergo the transformation which since then has fallen upon it. The Germany, and, still more, the Russia which Meyer had known could hardly be recognized by a re-visitant to-day. In the new period of universal change our own country can hardly expect to escape unaltered, and it is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility that the American public life in which Meyer held so conspicuous a place will never again be quite what it was in the years between 1900 and the outbreak of the great war.

Certainly Meyer himself was in many respects a typical figure of his period — a remarkably efficient man of affairs applying his energies and his keen intelligence to the public service, putting into useful practice the principle embodied in the maxim to which attention was drawn in the early pages of this book, “The soul’s joy lies in the doing.” Typically American as his career was in these aspects, there were others — notably those of its social background and affiliations — in which more frequent precedents for it would be found in England than here. Perhaps still more for this reason it represented what is coming, in spite of its nearness in point of time, to be known as the old order — an *ante bellum* order which in future may seem to make of the year 1914 as clear a line of division as 1861 has hitherto been. Meyer did not live to see the transition accomplished. The first steps in it, however, fell under his observation, and since he had become of necessity more an observer of national affairs than a participant in their control, with the “joy of doing” thus curtailed, the spectacle could hardly have yielded him much satisfaction.

There were nevertheless many things to be done. Freed from the cares of office, Meyer soon began to concern himself more actively with the affairs of his own business and his various directorates. The number of these was increased in 1913 by his election as a director of the Merchants National Bank in Boston. His service on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, to which he had been elected in 1911 for the term of six years, claimed an increasing measure of

his attention from the time of his election to the presidency of that body in 1914. But from March of 1913 until the outbreak of the war in Europe his life was chiefly that of a man of affairs and society, readjusting himself to new conditions of leisure and opportunity. The war changed all that—as it did for every one.

In the summer before the war began Meyer had one outstanding experience, of which he himself made a complete chronicle. This was his final meeting with Kaiser Wilhelm. Meyer was visiting Europe in the summer of 1913 with his wife, for a cure at Kissingen, when he received an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser on his yacht, the Hohenzollern. The conversation which took place on this occasion, not only with the Emperor but also with the officers attending him, was interesting enough at the time; in the light which subsequent events have thrown upon it, the significance of it all has become extraordinary. This is Mr. Meyer's record of the day:—

On August 7, 1913, I took the train from Berlin at 7.30 A.M. for Swinemünde, arriving at 11 A.M., and, not being expected on the Hohenzollern until 1 o'clock, I went to the hotel. As it was not very inviting, I walked in the park belonging to the town, which delighted me because it had been left wild, with alleys cut through the woods meeting from four directions at circles, and an unexpected simple little inn with roses climbing the walls.

At five minutes before one I approached the Royal White Yacht, lying beside the pier. It was a brilliant day with a sun which reminded one of Italy. Only a rope and a couple of senti-

nels kept the good-natured and interested crowd about 200 feet from the ship. I was not challenged or stopped by the guard although I presented no card; probably my garb showed that I must have been an invited guest, and not a bomb-thrower. I found all the guests were in uniform — as is usually the case in royal parties in Germany.

I was the last to arrive, with every one already assembled on the main deck, the Kaiser being further forward talking with Admiral Muller.

One of the Masters of Ceremony went up and called His Majesty's attention to my arrival. He came forward at once in a most cordial way, shook hands and said he was glad to see me again, asked after my family, then added: "I want to congratulate you on your administration of the American Navy for the past four years. I consider you the American von Tirpitz.¹ What is your successor going to do with the Navy?" "I am worried," I replied, "because he seems to be more interested in the civil than the military end." I recalled to His Majesty's mind a remark that he made when I lunched at the Palace in Berlin nearly seven years ago as I was returning home from St. Petersburg to enter President Roosevelt's Cabinet: "You are liable some day to have trouble with Japan, and if it does happen it will probably occur just before your Panama Canal opens." "Last winter," I added, "when the Japanese land-owning difficulty began in California, I remembered your

¹ It need only be said that in 1913 the Kaiser had no higher praise to bestow upon a naval official than this. He was quoting from himself when he called Meyer "the American von Tirpitz," for about two months earlier he had written this phrase on a luncheon menu and handed it to an American naval officer, Captain A. P. Niblack, who on September 4, 1913, wrote to Mr. Meyer as follows: "I see by the newspapers that you were in Germany recently and dined or lunched with the German Emperor on board the Hohenzollern. You have therefore probably heard in person the nice things he has to say to you. However, you may value the enclosed 'testimonial.' I lunched on June 12, 1913, at Döbnitz near Berlin with the Emperor at a review of a cavalry brigade, and he wrote on the back of a luncheon menu his compliments to you. I enclose the menu."

The Emperor's autograph note is reproduced herewith.

March 12/71 13

My best compliments to the
former Secretary of State for the Navy
the "American Turpin" Mr. Langsdorf
Mayer

William C.
R. H.

prophecy, Sire, but I had been working to obtain the highest military efficiency through a council of aids, the fleet had been kept intact and had shown good marksmanship." "Yes," remarked the Emperor, "and as long as you keep your fleet decidedly more powerful than theirs, you will not be attacked, and at present they are very hard up and short of funds."

I related to His Majesty how we (my wife and daughter, Julia) had automobiled from Cherbourg to Kissingen, *via* Paris, and later to Berlin; that we had passed through innumerable German cities and towns, and that I was much impressed with the signs of prosperity everywhere, never any sign of squalor. "I was much impressed," said the Emperor, "on the twenty-fifth anniversary of my reign; in Berlin there were no hooligans, and the crowds were well-to-do looking."

Breakfast was then announced by Count L. and I was told to follow the Emperor. General von Plessen joined me and recalled a dinner that former Ambassador Tower had given the Emperor in Berlin at the American Embassy, and at which he (von Plessen) had taken my wife into dinner.

The General in command of the Military Division of Stettin sat on the Emperor's right and I on his left, although the Chief of Staff, Count von Moltke, and the Minister of War were both at the breakfast. Admiral Muller was on my left, and the company was entirely composed of about twenty-two officers, military and naval.

For the first few minutes the Emperor talked with the General, and after that turned to me and conversed in a most animated and interesting way for the remainder of the breakfast.

First of all he wanted to know about the new American Ambassador — Judge Gerard. As I had known him for several years (although not as well as his brother, Sumner) I could say that I knew him, and had lately met him in Paris, and the day before in Berlin; that he wanted to take a proper house

for an Ambassador, yet he was timid about doing so without consulting his Chief in Washington on account of the much exaggerated, so-called Jeffersonian simplicity of the Democratic party. The Emperor hoped he would keep up the prestige of an Ambassador, adding that in no Court was so much attention paid to an Ambassador as in Berlin. "In a monarchy there must naturally be more attention paid to formality; it has been our custom." Evidently if Gerard takes a house that compares favourably with the other Embassies, and does his share (he personally has the means to do so) it will please the Emperor and surely smooth the way for him. . . .

The feeling between England and Germany was touched on, I stating that I thought it had improved in the last six months. "Yes," he said, "because England in these Balkan troubles realizes that we are more her friend than any of the other nations. The King of England's visit to Germany (on the occasion of my daughter's wedding) has opened his eyes." The Emperor added, "I cannot understand Sir Edward Grey having been made Minister of Foreign Affairs; he does not speak any foreign language, and therefore is useless to travel around with the King in foreign countries, as he would be unable to discuss policies; besides he is absolutely dependent on Nicolson and others in their Foreign Office." Evidently the Emperor did not like him, but I could not help saying: "Yet Grey really has a charming personality."

The Kaiser then suddenly said, "I have never forgotten a remark you made in the garden of the Schloss at Homburg on your way home (in 1907) from St. Petersburg. Do you remember? We had an interesting talk over the Russian-Japanese war, and the bringing about of the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, N. H., which you arranged with the Tsar, and which I was able to assist from the Berlin end." "I have forgotten, Sire," I replied. "Why, I told you of my uncle's (the

King of England) feeling towards me, due in part to the German world invasion commercially, and you said that Edward VII felt that he was — on account of his age — what we call in America ‘a has-been!’”

I then referred to the King of England sending me word in London after I had been in Berlin (1907) that he would like to see me, and in my audience at Buckingham Palace I realized that there was a certain curiosity on his part about my meeting the German Emperor before I came to London; but being so much of a gentleman he did not press it.

The Kaiser, speaking of having reigned twenty-five years, called attention to the continuance of peace throughout his Empire; — “and yet in the past the world has believed me war-like.” “But,” I added, “history with the eyes of unprejudice will judge otherwise.”

I then mentioned my visit to England two years ago when I was there in the summer to study the English Navy, and how I found the topic of conversation everywhere after dinner was the German invasion, and its probability, which was even being seriously considered in the Admiralty.

“Why, we never intended such a thing,” quickly responded the Emperor. “We intend and will continue to increase in every way possible the efficiency of our army, and build up a strong navy — not to make war, but to ensure peace, which my reign — extending over twenty-five years — demonstrates and proves.”

He then called attention to the English-Japanese Treaty — “a most unwise action on England’s part: it was brought about by fear of Russia, England not realizing that Russia had been bluffing. Why, Russia would not have been a dangerous commercial competitor in the East; and Japan is, and will seriously and finally impede English trade. But for that treaty Japan would not have dared to attack Russia.”

"Yes, Sire," I answered, "I have always felt that England was in a great part responsible for Japan's present prominence as a world power. I used to embarrass Sir Arthur Nicolson — the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg — by asking him if England would be obliged to attack us in case of war between the United States and Japan."

I took this opportunity to tell His Majesty that his Military Attaché — Major von Herwarth — at Washington was as well posted as any diplomat there, and that he had a better understanding of our problems than was usual.

Breakfast was served with despatch, and the food was evidently prepared by a French chef or with French training — certainly not typically German cooking. The strawberries served were so delicious that I longed for a second helping, but I refrained from asking for any, as — much to my regret — the Emperor did not invite it. The Kaiser giving the signal, every one rose and I held back as he went out on the deck, not desiring to appear as trying to monopolize his attention.

I walked out with General von Plessen, who related some of his experiences in America with Prince Henry. "Most agreeable," as he added, "but rather strenuous!"

After lighting his cigarette the Emperor addressed a few words to some of his suite, and then came over and joined the Minister of War, General von Falkenhayn, and myself. He dwelt on the importance in the future of the Teutonic races pulling together, and not fighting among themselves and weakening their resources for the struggle with the yellow races which must come some day.

He then called over the Chief of Staff of the Army — General Count von Moltke — and from time to time helped himself from the General's cigarette case. Probably in addition to being Chief of Staff he is Keeper of the Royal Cigarette Case!

Up to this time the Emperor had spoken in English; now with von Moltke and the Minister of War he enlarged in German on the history of the Teutonic races and what they had accomplished. I referred to a quotation from Chamberlain's "Foundations of the 19th Century," with which His Majesty agreed, and spoke also in the most complimentary manner of this work by Chamberlain, whom he practically considered a German. The Emperor added, "His chapter on the Jews is also worth reading."

It was evident in the course of conversation that he had a very poor opinion of Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and said he was the greatest intriguer in Europe, and had only been surpassed by the late Leopold of Belgium.

They all discussed the ammunition used in the late Balkan war, and how the French manufacturers had instigated and circulated false stories concerning the German guns, etc., used by the Turks. As a matter of fact the German projectiles had brought about the best results. The Greeks had demonstrated that, and it was the German projectiles, the Emperor said, that had been so successful against the Bulgarians. Constantine had reported this direct to the German Emperor.

Count von Moltke asked me where I had just come from, and when I replied, Kissingen, the Kaiser said: "The former Secretary of the Navy thinks nothing of distance. When he was Ambassador at Rome he ran down in his automobile at my invitation to Naples — just to dine with me on the Hohen-zollern."

All this time we had been standing in a group leaning against the gunwale. It was then 3 o'clock and Count L. came up and announced that it was time to start for the train.

The various guests drew their heels together and saluted the Emperor, and as I was about to take my leave His Majesty

turned to me and asked me to wait: "I want to show you my maps."

We went below, and in his saloon were arranged maps showing the positions of the various armies when the Balkan war opened, the advances of the different armies, and their present location. In this way he had kept continually posted and in touch with the events of the war. The Emperor believes that it is not advantageous to Europe to have Turkey annihilated, that they will serve as a barrier to Eastern nations in the future. He was evidently much pleased that the King of Greece — Constantine, his brother-in-law — had gone to the front: an example not followed by the other rulers.

As I left I mentioned that my son-in-law — Lieutenant Raymond Rodgers — might some day come to Berlin as Naval Attaché. He replied that he hoped he would, and then as we parted he shook hands, saying that he had enjoyed seeing me again.

At the station I found the Minister of War and von Moltke. The latter was disturbed, having lost his overcoat. I was able to describe a coat which had been offered to me as I was leaving, and which he realized was his. The Hohenzollern being connected with the pier by telephone, he was able to send word for it, and it was brought by a sailor just as the train was leaving.

They invited me to go in their carriage to Berlin, and I was delighted to break the tedious trip in their company.

When I had been presented on board the Hohenzollern to the Minister of War I congratulated the German Army on having a young man at their head. He bowed and was evidently pleased, but retorted: "You say that to me, and yet you have already been Ambassador to Rome, St. Petersburg, a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet, and finally Secretary of the Navy for four years:" a retort courteous. He asked if General Wood

would be able to come out to the manœuvres on account of the Mexican condition, and added: "It looks as though you would finally have to go into Mexico some day." I told him the story that the Kaiser told me at lunch of the occasion when Roosevelt was at the manœuvres, and his son, Kermit, said to the daughter of the Emperor after the skirmish was over, "And now I suppose they will begin killing the prisoners."

We discussed for some time the Panama Canal and the effect it would have. He said: "I wonder how long it will be before the locks of the canal will have to be enlarged. We have just completed widening the entire Kiel canal. Transatlantic ships are rapidly reaching the 1,000-foot limit of your Panama locks."

In speaking of the growth and splendour of Berlin I complimented them upon the attractiveness of the city, and how it was beginning to rival Paris in certain ways. "Ah! but Paris," he said, "has a charm of its own." "Yes, quite true," I added, "and I suppose the Emperor has never been there." I saw them glance at each other, but the Minister replied: "As far as we know, he has not." I apologized at once and said that I had not meant it in an inquisitive way. Evidently the story that got out some years ago that the Kaiser had been there incognito was true. Von Moltke pointed out at that moment the country which was the Emperor's game preserve. Then he told me of his having marched, after the siege of Paris, with the German Army into the city, through the Bois, around the Arc de Triomphe (the French having filled it with débris so that they could not march through it), down the Champs Elysées to the Place de la Concorde — a great experience. The then young Lieutenant — the nephew of the great Moltke — is himself at the present time Chief of Staff of the Army.

We were now entering Berlin — our journey was over — and as we separated I wondered if these two men would ever be

called upon to fulfil the requirements and accomplish the feats of the German War Office of two generations ago.

In the year between this glimpse of Germany as Meyer had long known it and his next experience of it, at the very moment when war was beginning, his life was that of a man much occupied with business and society in his own country. When the memorable summer of 1914 came, Meyer, with his wife and daughter Julia (now Mme. Brambilla), sailed for Europe, June 27, on the *Imperator*, with delightful plans for visits and other pleasures. The ship's wireless brought the ill-boding news of the murder at Sarajevo on June 28. Landing at Hamburg the Meyers went at once to Berlin, where they dined with the American Ambassador, Mr. Gerard, and enjoyed seeing many friends in the German capital. It will soon be seen that there was no more fortunate circumstance of their week in Berlin than Meyer's calling upon von Jagow, Secretary of State, who had been counsellor of the German Embassy in Rome ten years before, and von Jagow's returning of this call. When the week was done Mr. and Mrs. Meyer proceeded to Kissingen, where they were to take the cure, and Miss Meyer, to an Italian friend near Milan, a contemplated visit to the Duchess of Aosta having been postponed by reason of the Duke's illness from typhoid fever. Of their experiences through the distracted weeks that followed Mrs. Meyer has written the following account:—

The three weeks of cure were nearly over when war rumours reached the town. Dr. Dapper cursed and swore,



WEDDING PARTY AT ROCK MAPLE FARM, AT THE MARRIAGE OF MISS

JULIA MEYER

The group includes M. and Mme. Brambilla, Mr. and Mrs. Meyer, Mrs. C. R. P. Rodgers, Miss Julia Appleton, Miss Camilla Lippincott, Mrs. Colville Barclay, Mr. and Mrs. Sumner Gerard, Mrs. Fulton Cutting, Mrs. William G. Wendell, Mrs. Henry G. Gray, Gen. Guglielmotti, Capt. Vannutelli, Baron Valentino, Basil Miles, Leland Harrison.

knowing it was the death knell to his business, and said it was nonsense and to pay no attention to these rumours. Yet on many trees and in the windows of shops were posters, flaming with the hideous word, "*Krieg*." People began to leave very quietly: one missed them at meals. Countess von Wedel, whose two sons had been called, left for Weimar. H.E. Mme. Leghait,¹ advising us to follow suit, also left at once for Switzerland. Anxious to finish our cure, and not as anxious as we should have been over the "mobilization," we remained until July 30, and then we were glad to leave, for the troops marching by sang *Die Wacht am Rhein* all night, and filled me with fear.

A great comfort was that a telegram came from Julia, where she was visiting Gladys Szechenyi² in Hungary, that she had left on the first rumour of war — and on the last express out of Hungary. So we knew she was then safe in England with the McCooks, and we must get to her as soon as possible.

George decided on Friday evening, July 29, that we should leave early the following day. The sanitarium by this time was almost empty — in fact was closing — servants having been called to their regiments. Dapper was closing some of his houses and planning to keep some for hospitals, if they were needed.

On Saturday we were of course ready early. Kissingen was quite demoralized, trains uncertain, trunks piled high in the station, as there were no baggage men now. Money was difficult to get, but George had got all that we needed the day previous. While waiting in the station for our train to be ready to take us away with a crowd of excited people, we saw a private train pull out, and recognized Prince Youssouppoff in the window. We read later in the paper that he and his family received harsh treatment passing through Germany on their journey to Russia, particularly in Berlin.

¹ Wife of the Belgian Minister to Portugal

² The Countess Szechenyi, formerly Miss Gladys Vanderbilt.

In the compartment with us were the Spanish Secretary and his wife on their way back to their post in Paris. We were glad to have such congenial travelling companions. They got much excited at discovering that one of their trunks had not been put on the train. We felt very proud that our lot — five in all — had been surely put on at Kissingen. We were to have a fall yet!

We reached Stuttgart at midnight, and expected to be able to proceed to Paris, but learned that no trains were running. Rails were up for miles across the border of France. Here we looked for our trunks — nowhere to be found! However, we had suit-cases and a few clothes, and trunks seemed now merely extra trouble of which we had been relieved. So we went into the noisiest hotel ever built — right over the station — but both of us were very weary and glad to get to bed, as it was then after midnight. The night was a hideous one, with the combination of electric cars, trains, and passing troops.

We had an early breakfast, and George thought we might go into Switzerland and thence to France. So, with Marie and faithful Andrew,¹ we started for Switzerland on a train that left at 7 A.M. We travelled with no interruption as far as Carlsruhe, and there we were side-tracked and left. While George was out investigating and consulting any official that could be found I talked with a woman in the same car. She was rushing home to Switzerland with her two little boys, who were so excited and delighted over the idea of war. The mother felt very differently about it.

George came soon and got me, with our bags, and said he had found we were balked again. To get into Switzerland would be next to impossible, and a good train would be coming through soon bound north for Cologne; we would take that and go across Holland, to England, and there meet Julia. This

¹ Maid and valet.

sounded wise. I sat on a valise and waited. George wandered about, and to his surprise found two of our lost trunks piled high in the station with others. The train did come through about noon, and George of course got first-class seats for us with his usual quick cleverness.

In the train, in one compartment, was a typical Englishman who had just come from a fishing trip somewhere in the wilds, for he had heard no war rumours and was much more keen over his fishing tackle than war.

The trip to Cologne was uneventful: we reached there about six. Here indeed one realized there must be trouble of some kind. The place was crowded in every direction, private motors were being seized and lined up in the Cathedral Square for government use, regardless of ownership. In the high tower of the Cathedral were cannon already. Indeed, this looked like real trouble. We got supper in the hotel and inquired as to trains. One was scheduled for nine o'clock to the Hook. We decided that would be best, for this was the last day that trains would be free for passengers at all — the troops would require all after that. However, we had no trunks to check, as the two George found had already been side-tracked, but this seemed almost a relief!

We asked why the crowd outside seemed especially excited, and heard that Russian spies were about, that a man dressed as a woman had just been shot nearby.

So it had begun.

In the hotel were groups of people having tea. Officers smartly dressed in their gay uniforms would soon be in the field, and nothing would be gay there — far from it. We went to the station, and indeed it was in confusion. Crowds and crowds of people packed on the platforms, largely made up of relatives of these poor young men off to the unknown. I recall a young woman, seemingly a widow, pacing the platform holding the

arm of a young man whom I supposed her son. I have often wondered if he ever came back to her.

Officials were evidently all gone to join the troops. One could get little satisfaction and nothing definite. We and a small crowd of Britishers, all anxious to get home and more so to leave Germany, were waiting for that promised train to the Hook. But train after train came in and out of the station all loaded with soldiers, cheering, cheering, and the silent crowd would only then cheer, too. A train did come in empty at about 10, and we all clambered in and felt relieved to be moving once more nearer England and Julia.

This was the thirtieth of July, and I could not in any way wire Julia, as no telegrams were permitted, even if this was her birthday. At a time like this when every one is excited and fearful, it is a relief to talk to one's neighbour, in the train or wherever one may be, and in the same compartment was a little old German and his wife. They had been to Switzerland for a holiday. There they had got a telegram that their two sons were called to arms, and they had already left home before they could get back to see them. This couple got off at ———, and no sooner were they out of sight than we saw soldiers run through the station, a pistol shot, — another "spy" gone. This was indeed gruesome, and we were all glad that the train pulled out of the station quickly. We were not detained and on we went. Bridges were all carefully guarded and all stations.

Indeed, war had begun.

At about 11 we reached Cleves and were told the rails stopped there, that we must pass the night at Cleves and take a trolley to the border in the morning. It was a mystery to me how, in so short a time, rails had been ripped up, trolleys substituted, and new arrangements organized. No town in sight, a few wagons, lots of men standing about. The travellers all took various traps and disappeared. George and I seemed the

last. He had told a taxi to return for us after taking the first load, as he wished to go to the hotel out of town. I was sitting on a bag, pretty weary after our two days' travel and a good deal of excitement, and anxious to hear from and see Julia. I whistled (our family notes) for George, who had wandered off. I think this must have aroused suspicion, for an officer seemed to spring from the earth. He asked us to get into the taxi, which had just returned, servants and bags. He got on the box and we drove into the town and to the Police Station!

We were conducted across a courtyard to a small room, and requested, in a very peremptory manner, to open all our bags. Nothing was found to excite them until George's pouch came to light, and that, they felt sure, must be full of information. George had kept some of his cards of visitors during our stop in Berlin, and when the officer came across von Jagow's card it acted like a talisman. Our bags were closed. We were put in the cab and sent on to the hotel, situated out of town, on the hill, the officer saluting most politely.

How glad I was to fall into bed. Clank, clank — an officer's step along our passage! A knock at the door! My heart stood still — what now? Marie had left all our keys and the officer himself had brought them to us out of town. This was an unspeakable relief. My nerves were soon at rest.

The hotel was really situated in a lovely place on the side of the hill, and must have been a charming resort and Kurhaus. In the morning we had breakfast on the big piazza early, and then drove to the town to take a tram which was the only means then of crossing the border and getting into Holland. The car was supposed to start at 8, but we never got off until much later. The officer who had examined our bags the night before came to see us off and evidently believed that George had known H.E. von Jagow in Rome while U. S. Ambassador, and that there was no deception.

A funny crowd was packed into that little electric car — mostly English and Americans. We learned from some what a difficult time they had had getting accommodations at Cleves for the night. Many slept out of doors, some in cars, so it was due to George's intelligence in going out of town that we had nice quarters and quiet. The car stopped at a small village on the German border, about two hours from Cleves, and we were all told to get out and the women requested to go into a house and be searched. I took Marie with me and they seemed to think I might be a man in disguise! Letters and lunch boxes were taken from people, but nothing was taken from us, and across the border we walked, by a double line of soldiers with guns, into Holland. I never thought I could be so glad at leaving Germany behind me.

Mrs. Meyer's narrative goes on to tell of meetings with American and other friends in England and Scotland, where Mr. Meyer carried out the plan formed in America to join a shooting party of his friend Mr. Clarence H. Mackay's near Aberdeen, and of the comfortable sailing of the three thwarted travellers, after the rush of returning Americans had spent itself, on the *Mauretania* from Liverpool at the beginning of September.

Among the earliest letters written by Meyer on his return was one of September 11 to the Hon. William J. Bryan, then Secretary of State. "I have just returned from Europe," it said, "and I believe that at the psychological moment the President and you will have to play a most important part in the bringing about of peace among the warring nations. I found that in England and France men irrespective of party



GEORGE V. L. MEYER, WITH HIS SON AND GRANDSON OF THE
SAME NAME

were working together to better conditions; therefore I am taking the liberty of assuring you, if at any time I can be of any service, on account of my acquaintance abroad with the leading ministers and ambassadors in Europe, and England, combined with experience that I had in persuading the Tsar to agree to appoint plenipotentiaries with full power to meet Japanese plenipotentiaries, that you will feel at liberty to command me." This letter, which went on to enumerate some of Meyer's personal relationships in Europe, received a courteous acknowledgment.

About a month later, in a letter of October 15 to Mr. Erving Winslow of Boston he wrote: "I sympathize with Belgium and France, but cannot be blind to the misrule of Russia in the past, and her methods of government. I do not believe that Russian militarism and Russianized German provinces would be a step forward if the outcome of the present war depends on Russian victories. I also believe in the attitude of our President regarding strict neutrality of this country."

In this final sentiment it will be remembered that in October of 1914 Meyer and Roosevelt were at one. This is by no means to say that even at that time Meyer was in general sympathy with the administration. His attitude, on the contrary, was hostile to it, and became more and more that of a vigorous critic of its policies. Especially in the matter of "preparedness," he felt that the Government was seriously at fault, and employed every means at his command to inform and stimulate the public in the direction of a greatly enlarged programme of national defense.

Naturally the Navy was the chief object of his concern. He was entirely out of sympathy with his successor's conduct of the Department, and, with all the sincerity and conviction of a strong believer in the policies to which he had devoted four years of hard work, combated the new policies from which he was firmly persuaded that a general deterioration of the service would result. Unsparing as he was in his criticisms of the existing naval administration, especially for its reversals of the emphasis he had placed upon the more strictly military aspects of the Navy, and for its sacrifice of the benefits he had foreseen from the firmer establishment of his system of naval aids, he did not fail to point out the shortcomings of Congress, for many years past, in making adequate provisions for the naval forces.

His appeals to the public took a variety of forms. He responded to many requests for addresses to public gatherings. He contributed articles to such periodicals as the *Yale Review*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *North American Review*, and the *Metropolitan Magazine*. He reached the newspaper reading public through the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Times*, and other journals. He identified himself with organizations promoting the objects he had at heart — the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the National Allied Relief Committee, the Navy League, and the like. The needs and responsibilities of the Navy afforded the field in which his special knowledge and strongest interest could be brought into most effective play. Thus in the agitation for universal mili-

tary training, it fell to him to plead the necessity of preparing young men for the Navy as well as for the Army. "Hacking away over preparedness in the Navy," was his own description, in a letter, of the course to which he was committed before the end of 1915. In another letter of the same time he defined the two chief points on which he was trying to educate the public as "military organization in the administration at Washington, which means a General Staff and a National Council of Defense, and a sufficiently educated personnel, both active and reserve, for, as you say, ships without men are of no use." To these and nearly related matters he was steadily and systematically devoting his energies.

All these activities, begun early in the war and continued to the end of his life under the altered conditions that arose when the United States joined in the conflict with Germany, represented an interest in national affairs closely akin to that of Theodore Roosevelt. Meyer's affection and admiration for this friend of many years was one of the constant elements in his life. It was entirely natural, therefore, that when the time came, in 1916, to nominate a Republican candidate to contest the reëlection of President Wilson, Meyer believed that Roosevelt most clearly embodied the sentiment with which the President might be successfully opposed, and that to Roosevelt the direction of national policies could be most advantageously entrusted. This belief, with its roots in personal, political, and patriotic considerations, was not of sudden growth. Even before the war began, Meyer had

written to Roosevelt, in June of 1914, expressing the hope that he would be "in the pink of condition for the great contest which will come off two years hence against the Democratic administration," and declaring: "If the presidential elections were to come off next autumn and there were to be presidential primaries throughout the country, I am sure you would get both the Republican and Progressive nominations." In the spring of 1916, when some of Roosevelt's more impulsive friends in Massachusetts, were bent on sending a delegation to the Chicago Convention, pledged to the nomination of their candidate, Meyer strongly favoured an unpledged delegation, believing that, after the failure of the Convention to choose any single "favourite son" out of all the minor political groups, there would be a general demand for Roosevelt as the leader who might bring the party back into power.

Meanwhile there was much uncertainty about the willingness of Mr. Justice Hughes to heed the desires of the more "regular" Republican politicians, quit the Supreme bench, and become a candidate. The whole situation was delicate in the extreme, and Meyer fully realized how difficult it would be to persuade a National Republican Convention that the Progressive candidate of 1912 could with any propriety whatever become the Republican candidate of 1916. Nevertheless he was one of a voluntary group of Roosevelt's supporters who came together about three weeks before the Convention and decided to make an appeal to the country on the ground of offering a candidate who should represent qualities and policies squarely

antipodal to those of President Wilson. Should the plans of the Republican leaders go awry through a final refusal by Mr. Justice Hughes to accept the nomination, these supporters of Roosevelt believed that many would flock to their side and insist on the selection of their candidate.

The leadership in this movement was offered to Meyer, and accepted. In the short period before the Convention he was the prime mover in the organization of Roosevelt Republican Clubs throughout the country. He conducted a brilliant but fore-doomed fight, carried to Chicago itself, where he established convention headquarters. The fight failed, if for no other reason, because Mr. Justice Hughes finally broke his silence on the subject of his possible nomination by deciding to run for the presidency, and thus enabled the "regulars" to carry out their programme. A colleague of Meyer's in the endeavour to secure the nomination of Roosevelt has ascribed the ensuing "disaster to the party" mainly to the fact that "the country at large could see but slight difference between the views of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes, and, that being so, preferred not to 'swap horses.'" Another fellow-worker in this enterprise has expressed the opinion that "the only cause for the failure to nominate the Colonel was that the Meyer plan was a hundred days too late in getting into the field"; and has said of Meyer's own part in the undertaking that, "like all of his efforts in life, it was clean and above board, and when it was done he could look every man straight in the eye."

Meyer showed himself no less devoted a Republican in the campaign of 1916 than in that of 1912. He provided Mr. Hughes with campaign material to be used in the interest of the Navy, rendered valuable service in the collection of campaign funds, and exerted all his influence for the restoration of his party to power. The result of the election in November was a bitter disappointment to him. In a letter to Mrs. Meyer, written on November 11 from New York, he expressed his true feelings: "It has been a most disappointing and trying election — disappointment in the people and discouragement for the Navy during the next four years. It was bad enough to see all my work undone, but it is terrible to think what might be accomplished with the vast appropriations, and actually what will not be done. I am tired of answering people's questions of 'how did it happen?'"

For most Americans with minds and hearts these were indeed days of perplexity and travail of spirit. The final decision of the country to enter the war came like a fresh wind that blew away many clouds of doubt, and gave to persons of all varieties of political convictions a clear vision of a united purpose. To those, like Meyer, who had rendered genuine service to the cause of preparedness came a reassuring sense of having accomplished something, though less than they desired, towards fitting the country for the physical part of the struggle. There were many works of foresight and mercy to be done, and it is good to record of George Meyer that, besides entering heartily into such immediate matters as the projects for ample food



LAST PHOTOGRAPH OF MR. MEYER, WITH HIS SON AT HAMIL-
TON, NOVEMBER, 1917. FROM A SNAPSHOT
BY MRS. MEYER

production in Essex County and the forwarding of local Red Cross enterprises, he made his last appearance in public early in February of 1918, slightly more than a month before his death, as a speaker at a mass meeting on behalf of Italian war relief at the Tremont Theatre in Boston. By this time his personal interest in the conduct of the war was keenly sharpened by the fact that his son, having entered the Army through the Harvard Regiment and Plattsburg, was serving his country as a Captain of Infantry and aide to General Leonard Wood, that one son-in-law was in the active service of the Navy, and another in the Diplomatic Corps of the Italian Government. Thus for those nearest to him, and consequently for himself, the war was anything but an abstract or remote affair.

Meyer's domestic life during these final years was singularly happy. To his great satisfaction, he could pass more of his time at Hamilton than in any of his periods of office-holding. In April of 1913, his daughter Alice was married in Washington to Lieutenant (now Commander) C. P. R. Rodgers, of the Navy. Before the end of this year the marriage of his son, and namesake, with Miss Frances Saltonstall, took place. In the winter there were holidays at Aiken, in the summer on the Restigouche, where the salmon-fishing delighted and refreshed him as in earlier years. Near the end of 1916 he began the formidable undertaking, mentioned near the beginning of this book, of moving his house at Hamilton from its original roadside position to a commanding site on a nearby hill, establishing himself and Mrs. Meyer meanwhile in a

smaller house in the neighbourhood in order to follow the work, which greatly interested him. This was accomplished in August of 1917, and on October 1 his daughter Julia was married, at the transplanted mansion-house, to Signor Giuseppe Brambilla.

Those who saw him at this time, gay, apparently well, interested in everything, bent on giving pleasure to his family and friends, could hardly have realized that in the previous winter he had undergone what was called a "slight operation" but was in reality the occasion of a grave illness. From time to time in the course of the preceding narrative it has been seen that physical ailments had called for "cures" and vacations. These effects of a Russian diet for two years and the strain of intense activities for many more would doubtless have made themselves more frequently felt but for Meyer's constant practice of physical exercise. By its means he kept himself in a state of bodily "fitness" which made any semblance of disease quite foreign to him. While Secretary of the Navy he had continued to go about his work through an attack of "walking typhoid." So now, through the last year of his life, he hid the suffering of a fatal illness from all but the most penetrating eyes, enjoying and causing others to enjoy whatever pleasures were to be had — until for a few last weeks the hand of pain closed his door to the outer world. The ideal of the sportsman — to "do your job" and "take your punishment" without flinching or complaint — is after all an ideal to which true men and women must always turn with admiration and respect. It was in this spirit that Meyer faced and met his end. He died March 9,

1918, at his home in Boston, 54 Beacon Street, of tumour of the liver. He had not quite attained the age of sixty. "In a comparatively few years," a friend well said of him, "he lived a long life."

Many other friends said many other things in appreciation and praise. Out of all these expressions it is enough at this point to take but one—the word that came immediately to Mrs. Meyer from Theodore Roosevelt:—

There is nothing I can say that will in any way lighten your grief; and that I dearly loved George you already know. Yet I cannot forbear writing you a word of deep sympathy. You have been a staunch friend; your sorrow would be our sorrow in any event; and in this event we mourn George as we would mourn very, very few outside our own family. He was as loyal and devoted a friend as ever lived; he possessed that fine courage and fearless uprightness of character which mark only the few among all whom we meet on our way through life; and he was a singularly useful public servant. I prized his friendship greatly; I felt honoured by my association with him in public work.

It is idle to try to comfort you; and yet, my dear Mrs. Meyer, as we of our generation draw near the inevitable, it is a fine thing to meet it with the gallant heroism your husband showed; and you yourself have "warmed both hands at the fire of life"; much, very much, has been yours.

"As loyal and devoted a friend as ever lived"—
"a singularly useful public servant." The record of George Meyer's life and work cannot be brought to a more fitting conclusion than with these words from one who knew whereof he spoke.

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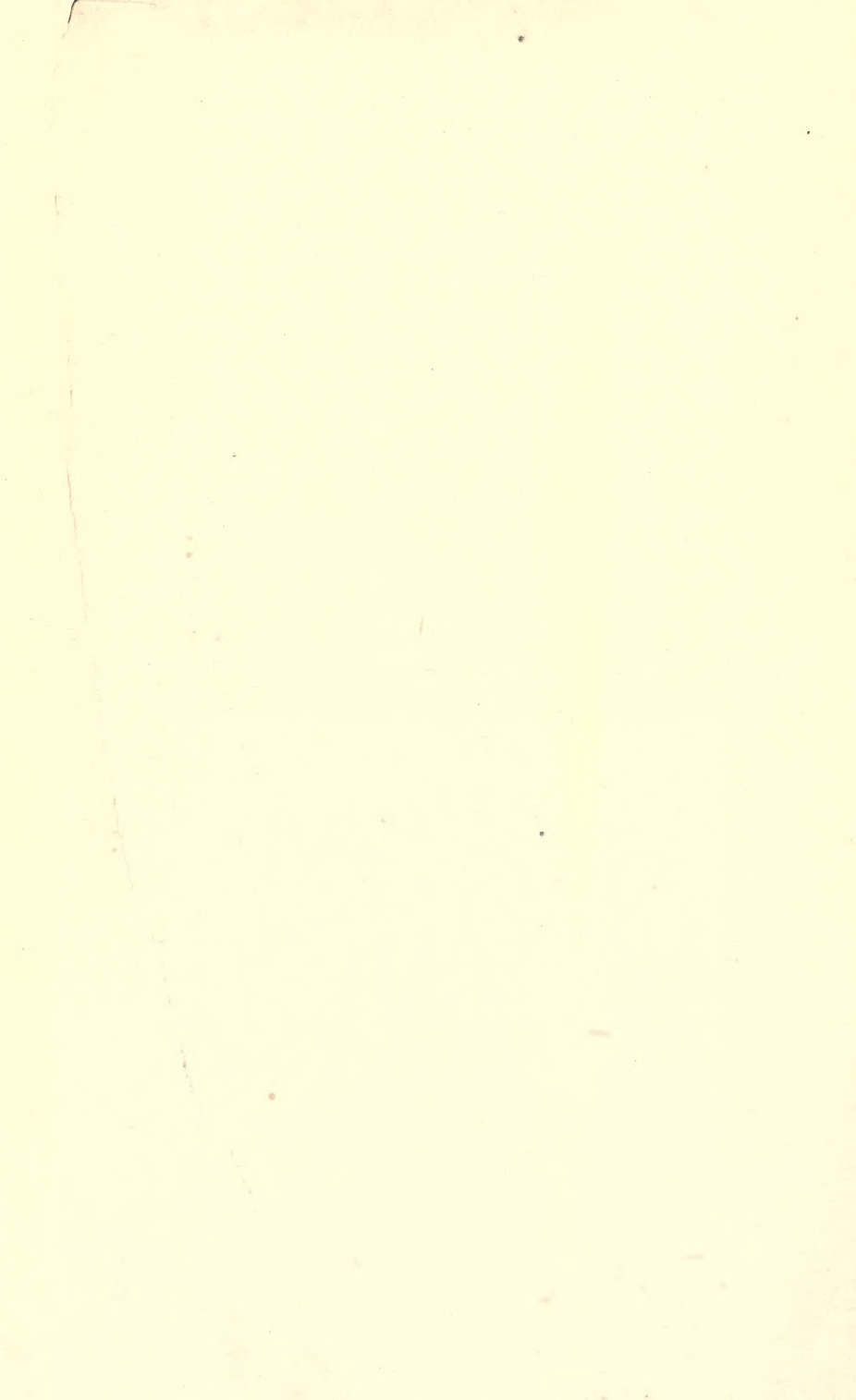
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